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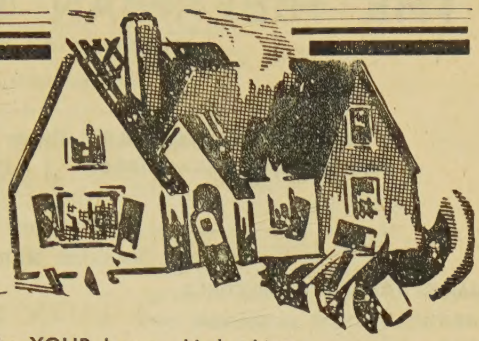

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 31st day of January, 1944.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1943, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£36,405	15	0
To which has to be added :—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	26,671	6	4
	£63,077	1	4

The Directors recommend that the balance available be applied as follows, viz. :

In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	6,000	0	0
To next Account	29,577	1	4
	£63,077	1	4

The Reserve Fund remains at £750,000.

By Order of the Board,

GEORGE ROCHE,

General Manager.

DUBLIN 12th JANUARY, 1944.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

(INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.)

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1943.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	750,000	0	0
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... £470,000 0 0			
Less: Held by the Bank ... 20,213 0 0			
	449,787	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	14,793,855	13	11
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	63,077	1	4
	£16,556,719	15	3

ASSETS	£	s.	d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers	2,104,215	3	10
,, Investments, Irish and British Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Central Bank of Ireland by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	9,519,411	19	4
,, Other Securities	269,136	0	2
	£11,892,763	3	4
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	4,522,129	7	5
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	141,827	4	6
	£16,556,719	15	3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1943.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Dividend to be paid in February, 1944, subject to deduction of Income Tax ...	27,500	0	0			
,, Bank Premises Account	6,000	0	0			
,, Balance to next Acct.	29,577	1	4			
				63,077	1	4
				£63,077	1	4

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account ...	26,671	6	4
,, Net Profit for Half-year, after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	36,405	15	0
	£63,077	1	4

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1943, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
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DUBLIN, 12th JANUARY, 1944.

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MONTE CASSINO AND THE EUROPEAN TRADITION

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J.

Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin

THAT a great army should once again have destroyed the monastery of Monte Cassino is tragic news, and the sympathy of all Christian souls goes out to the monks of St. Benedict's Order throughout the world. Instead of wasting time on a vain question as to the exact apportionment of responsibility for this grievous blow, it may be more helpful to remind ourselves of the debt which the world owes to Monte Cassino. The mere fact that the destruction of this building in a campaign which has already destroyed so many of the fairest churches of Sicily and Southern Italy should have evoked statements and excuses from politicians and generals of more than one nation, is in itself a reminder that this ancient site was felt to be a symbol of something more than usually venerable in the traditions of Europe. Architecturally the group of buildings that has perished was of less value than many others in that homeland of sacred art. Monte Cassino stands as a witness to a world-wide tradition of peaceful, monastic life : its Benedictine motto is *Pax*. Even when its buildings have been reduced to rubble and dust, its witness to older and higher values of life remains unshaken.

Less than fifteen years gave gone by since the Benedictine Order celebrated the fourteenth centenary of Monte Cassino. The date was arbitrarily chosen, for nothing is more uncertain than the chronology of the founder's life. His birth is usually placed about the year 480 ; but St. Gregory the Great, who tells us the little that we know of the saint's life in the second book of his *Dialogues*, has made no effort to tell the story as a continuous narrative. We know that Benedict was born at Nursia and was thus a Sabine by birth ; that he came to Rome for his education at a time when Rome still retained much of its ancient splendour, though it had ceased to be the political centre of the ancient world ; that the young boy or man (for his age at the time of his vocation is quite uncertain) was shocked at the immorality and pagan atmosphere of the great city, and took refuge from its temptations as a hermit at Subiaco ; that his fame as a director of souls drew others to his solitude, so that many (how many we do not know) shared his life in small groups or communities that seem to have been half-monastic, half-eremitical ; and that in the end (no fixed date is possible) the jealousy of a neighbouring priest and the growing complexity of life at Subiaco induced the saint to move further south, into a country that has proved wild and difficult enough to hold up the progress of a modern mechanised army. There,

on the summit of a steep hill that had been dedicated to the cult of Apollo, Benedict and his fellow-travellers found a site that appealed to their desire for solitude and yet gave scope for the development of what we know to-day as monastic life.

Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat :
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes.

There was thus something appropriate in this choice of a site which had first to be cleared of its surviving pagan temple and then converted into a home for a new type of Christian family.

It was never my good fortune to visit Monte Cassino, and I can only quote from a chapter in which the modern Dutch artist-monk, Dom Willibrord Verkade, describes his life in this oldest of Benedictine monasteries : " As in Fiesole, I was here to live on an eminence high above the earth, breathing a purer air and effectually detached from the noisome distractions of the human scene. Spiritually it was stimulating, for if the eye can range unhindered over a vast expanse of God's creation, it spurs the soul to rise above itself, to free itself from encumbrances which before had seemed inevitable. . . . Far below was the peaceful Campagna dotted with villages, clearly-defined farms and vineyards ; while on the horizon loomed the lofty Abruzzi with their jagged peaks and dark, mysterious passes." (*Quest of Beauty*, p. 97). These are elements in the life of Monte Cassino which have changed little since the day when Benedict and his companions first climbed that hill. To-day the peaceful Campagna has been sorely devastated by our destructive modern warfare ; but things were little better in Benedict's day, when the Goths under Witigis and Totila fought their battles against the Greek imperial troops under Belisarius. If Procopius is to be trusted, the evacuation of Rome in the terror that was caused by Totila's rule emptied the city of all its inhabitants for some weeks. But the Greek historian had more than a touch of our modern war-correspondent's love for the melodramatic, and we can only hope that some of the eye-witnesses whose sensational descriptions help to depress us to-day may soon be convicted, as Procopius has been convicted, of a tendency towards exaggeration.

Only one portion of the modern monastery was claimed as a surviving link with the lifetime of St. Benedict. The temple which Benedict destroyed fourteen hundred years ago stood in the centre of an *arx* or citadel, commanding from its hill-top the small town of Cassinum which lay at the foot of Monte Cassino. This citadel was surrounded by a wall which was fortified by towers—and it is probable that both wall and towers had fallen into ruin long before the arrival of the monks in the sixth century.[1] Tradition has always claimed one of these towers as

[1] Distinct from this Roman wall, and outside the monastic precincts, was a more ancient and strongly-built " Pelasgic " wall.

the building in which St. Benedict made himself a cell, most probably in the midst of half-ruined masonry. The site was sacred to the founder's memory, and this tower was preserved as a memorial-chapel. In our own day it had been decorated by a school of Benedictine artist-monks from the German abbey of Beuron, who had also completed an elaborate scheme of mural decoration for the *Soccorpo* or crypt of the abbey-church, where local tradition (by no means universally accepted) claimed that the saint's body lay buried. There can be little hope that the tower and the crypt have survived the recent bombing. German Catholics are sure to feel the blow most keenly, for the art of Beuron was a symbol of one aspect of the great Catholic revival in modern Germany. It was a German monk, Abbot Klug, who planned this scheme of decoration, though the execution of the work was left to others. He did not live to see the solemn consecration of the *Soccorpo* which took place in 1913. How the world's face has been changed in the past tragic thirty years!

But the survival of a single building means little to a tradition that has endured already for more than fourteen centuries. The mere fact that Benedictine tradition was on the whole opposed to the local claim that the saint's body lay on Monte Cassino is in itself an illustration of what we may perhaps call the "disembodiment" of monastic traditions. Whether Benedict's body lies buried in Monte Cassino or in the French abbey of Fleury matters little to the world at large, even to the monastic world. What counts is the life itself, and the life of every Benedictine community, great or small, rests on the sure foundation of St. Benedict's Rule.

There is no doubt that the *Regula Monasteriorum* was composed by Benedict, not in the earlier days at Subiaco, but on the heights of Monte Cassino. The Rule postulates a large community dwelling in a single monastery, not—as at Subiaco—in small communities grouped together in loose association. We read of the church, the refectory, the chapter-house, the dormitory where the monks slept in common, the guest-house, the door-keeper's small lodging-house and so on; and our imagination can easily reconstruct these first simple buildings, for which material was at hand in plenty from the ruins of the ancient temple and citadel. But the essence of the Benedictine life is to be found in common submission to the Father Abbot and common fulfilment, day after day, of that liturgical worship which Benedict named simply God's Work (*opus Dei*). In the skilful adaptation of his Rule to the infirmities of human nature, whilst yielding nothing that was essential for the realisation of that ascetic ideal which had drawn each young novice from the temptations and anxieties of a half-pagan world to the peace of Monte Cassino, are to be found most clearly those qualities of lawgiver and prudent guide which have given St. Benedict his unique position among the saintly founders of Europe's great monastic tradition.

Fifteen years ago, when the centenary of Monte Cassino came as a stimulus to those who were interested in the origins of Benedictine monachism, Abbot Chapman started a lively controversy by his provocative volume of essays on *Saint Benedict and the Sixth Century*. Always an original critic of established traditions, he put forward a theory which has failed to win acceptance from the majority of his Benedictine fellow-scholars. The tradition has always been that Benedict's *Regula Monasteriorum* made its way, slowly at first but with ever increasing authority, as the normal type of monastic rule for the communities of Western Europe. In this older view Benedict wrote his guidebook for beginners (*hanc minimam inchoationis regulam*), if not for the monks who had placed themselves under his personal rule on Monte Cassino, at least for no more than a few other communities who had been impressed by his success as founder and wished for guidance in their own difficulties. Abbot Chapman, taking advantage of the general uncertainty as to almost every date in the saint's life, argued that the Rule was composed somewhat earlier than had generally been supposed; that it was written at the request of Pope Hormisdas I (514-23) and completed soon after that Pope's death (c. 526); that the Emperor Justinian quotes the text of the *Regula* in his *Moralia*, which were published c. 530; and that many other parallels between the actual wording of Benedict's Rule and the writings of his contemporaries are to be explained, not as giving us an insight into the care with which Benedict studied the work of others and borrowed from their wisdom, but rather as proof of the commanding position which his *magistra regula* or *sancta regula* (both phrases occur in the text of the Rule) held from the first in the monastic world of the sixth century.

This controversy, which became for a time (in Bremond's irreverent phrase) a Battle of Abbots, is of interest mainly for students of early monastic origins. But it raises a wider question which has always challenged the judgment of observers, ancient and modern. What are the special qualities which have marked out a rule which its author was content to describe as *hanc minimam inchoationis regulam*, and have maintained it for fourteen centuries as the most permanently successful of all monastic rules? Abbot Chapman's theory starts from an initial assumption: that the Pope's invitation to Benedict to write a Rule that should be *magistra regula* for all the monasteries of Europe was in itself a recognition of the unique position which the saint had won at Monte Cassino—not so much by the wisdom of his direction, which had not yet been tested by the experience of many generations, but by the special grace of thaumaturgic powers to which the anecdotes, told so ingenuously by St. Gregory in his *Dialogues*, bear conclusive testimony. Granted that God marked out the first abbot of Monte Cassino as a wonder-worker whose fame must have been a familiar fact throughout Central Italy in his day, it seems

improbable that the Pope could, at so early a stage of monasticism in Western Europe, have planned and commissioned a normal Rule of Monastic Life for all future houses. Nor is it easy to understand, if we accept Abbot Chapman's hypothesis, why in fact the Rule of St. Benedict took so many generations to establish its supremacy in the monasteries of Western Europe.

The older explanation seems thus still to hold good. Benedict's Rule won its way to almost universal acceptance because it was better adapted than any other to the ordinary needs and desires of men and women who wished to seek and find peace in some monastic community. On a question such as this it is wisest to pay heed to those whose knowledge of the Rule is derived, not from reading or study, but from the personal experience of daily life. Benedictine writers love to extol the varied simplicity of their liturgy and are apt at times to contrast its harmonies with the diversities of other rites. Whatever may be the truth of their own personal judgments, there can be no doubt at all that the Benedictine Liturgy has been a source of endless joy and strength for unnumbered souls throughout the fourteen centuries of Benedictine history; and the appeal of its music and its ceremonies is strong to-day among many who have little attraction towards other less stately forms of Catholic piety. But it would be foolish to seek to explain the strength of this appeal in mere terms of aesthetic emotion. There is a balance and an order in Benedictine life which are apparent to all observers and to all students of Benedictine history; and those who are best qualified to interpret the *Regula Monasteriorum* insist most strongly on the happy combination of work and prayer—work that, in St. Benedict's day, was mainly corporal work, and prayer that was mainly public prayer—so that the hours of the day are evenly balanced in a harmonious dedication of all man's life to the worship and service of God. Modern life, with its vastly more complicated problems and its more specialised activities, has altered the external character of much of this daily routine; but the essential inner balance is still there.

In addition to the skill with which Benedict succeeded in framing an unending *horarium*, by which day and night succeeded one another in the praises and service of God, there is in many chapters of his Rule an understanding for the infirmity and limitations of ordinary human nature which has made it possible to maintain his essential Rule in many diverse ways of life. In his very beautiful Prologue the founder claims that he has sought to make a rule of life that shall contain nothing too difficult or harsh for human nature: *nihil asperum, nihil grave nos constituros speramus*. The chapters on food and drink have often been cited as examples of the saint's moderation. Since the argument as to temperance and total abstinence has an unending interest for many, I may perhaps be permitted to cite once again the sentences in which St. Benedict sums up his teaching on this age-old problem:—

Every one hath his proper gift from God: one after this manner and another after that. Therefore it is not without some scruple that we establish a measure of food for others. However, considering the weakness of some, we think that a *hemina* of wine is sufficient for each man every day. If God grants the endurance of abstinence to some (*tolerantiam abstinentiae*), let them know that they shall have their proper reward. If the needs of some place or the work or the summer's heat demands more, let it be in the prior's discretion, who shall see to it in all cases that neither satiety nor drunkenness creep in. Though we read that wine is not at all suitable for monks, since in our day it is not possible to persuade the monks of this truth, let us at least make this concession on condition that we never drink to satiety, but in moderation since "wine maketh even the wise to apostatise." Wherever the needs of the place are such that not even the measure described above can be found, but much less or none at all, let those who dwell there bless God; and let them not complain. This above all we admonish them, that they should be without complaint.

It is not easy to translate Benedict's Latin, which has the true magisterial quality of the lawgiver's language. A rule of this humane but austere character—expressed in language that is brief, clear and emphatic—was bound to carry conviction in many lands. Since modern criticism has so often had a negative result in its inquiry into ancient traditions, it is pleasant to record that modern textual criticism of St. Benedict's *Regula* has established the authentic value of a ninth-century manuscript, now in the library of St. Gall and known to scholars as Codex Sangallensis 914. Now that Monte Cassino has again been destroyed, we may recall the traditional history of Benedict's autograph copy of his Rule. Less than half a century after the founder's death, Lombard invaders had plundered Monte Cassino and had scattered this first Benedictine community. The monks took refuge in Rome, where Pope Pelagius II invited them to found a monastery beside the Lateran basilica. Whether St. Gregory had already established his own community of monks on the Aventine before this date, is uncertain; but this forced migration to Rome brought the future Pope into immediate contact with the original Benedictine tradition and thus had incalculable consequences for the Order's future. Meanwhile Monte Cassino lay derelict, and its restoration as a Benedictine monastery was not undertaken until the early eighth century. The traditional date for this second foundation is 718, and the story goes that Pope Gregory II, who had commissioned Abbot Petronax to make this foundation, gave him as a parting gift the venerable codex in which St. Benedict had written his *Regula Monasteriorum* with his own hand.

Abbot Butler, who has produced the standard critical text of the *Regula*, does not accept this tradition; and there is indeed no sure proof that the ancient copy of the Rule which the Pope sent to the new foundation of Monte Cassino was St. Benedict's autograph copy—if such a copy ever existed. But there is no doubt at all that the Codex Sangallensis, which dates from the ninth century, is itself a copy of a copy

sent to Charlemagne from Monte Cassino at a time when the Emperor, with the help of the Pyrenean monk St. Benedict of Aniane, was planning a general reform of the Benedictine monasteries in his Empire. We have thus an exceptionally well authenticated version of Benedict's text, and modern students of the *Regula* have the satisfaction of knowing that they can read the words of the Rule as Benedict wrote or dictated them at Monte Cassino more than fourteen hundred years ago.

The interruption of monastic life at Monte Cassino within a generation of the founder's death raises an interesting point in the history of the Order's diffusion outside Italy. Rome, not Monte Cassino, was the authentic home of Benedictinism in the lifetime of St. Gregory, and it was Gregory who sent St. Augustine and his fellow-monks on their mission to England. Is Canterbury the first Benedictine foundation beyond the Alps? In former centuries French claims to priority could not lightly be set aside, for there is an ancient tradition in the *Vita S. Mauri* that Maurus, one of Benedict's first disciples at Subiaco and Monte Cassino, led a group of his fellow-monks to Gaul within the founder's lifetime. But that tradition has been rejected by most modern scholars, and there is no clear proof that any Benedictine community was founded in Gaul before c. 620. Augustine's foundation at Canterbury dates from 605, and Abbot Butler is thus free to claim it " as the first Benedictine monastery outside Italy of which authentic record exists." Nor is that all. When Petronax of Brescia came to Monte Cassino in 717, he seems to have found some monks who were living there already—half hermits, half monks—and he settled among them as their senior. It was not until 729 that the Benedictine Rule was re-established as the normal rule of life for this community; and the change in discipline was due to an Anglo-Saxon monk named Willibald who came to the holy site as a pilgrim, and gave ten years of his life to the work of instructing this small community in Benedictine observance as he himself had learned it in the great monasteries of England. For the seventh century had witnessed an astonishing growth of Benedictine houses in England, and to this day there are few chapters in the long history of the Order which are more inspiring than the story of such early foundations as those made by St. Wilfrid at Ripon and by Benet Biscop at Wearmouth and Jarrow.

England's contribution to Benedictine history is thus of peculiar importance at this early stage, and the apostolate of St. Willibrord and St. Boniface in Germany, combined with the erudition and holy doctrine of the Venerable Bede in Jarrow, gives these Anglo-Saxon monasteries a high place in the Order's annals. The tradition of independent government in each abbey, which has been so jealously maintained throughout the centuries in spite of many movements towards a more centralised form of control, makes Benedictine history more complicated and more full of surprises than the history of most other Orders. In the eighth century,

when the Black Monks of St. Benedict were carrying forward the work of conversion which had been begun by our own Irish monks in Central Europe, Monte Cassino—the scene of the Order's first and perhaps happiest days—had ceased to be a vital centre of Benedictine life. Nor was it more than a most venerable site in the ninth century, when the reforming zeal of Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious encouraged Benedict of Aniane to attempt from the Frankish kingdom a first effort to impose centralised government and a more rigorous code of monastic observance on all Benedictine houses.

There is no need to stress here the well-known fact that Celtic monastic traditions go back to origins that are independent of the *Regula Monasteriorum*. Yet Benedictine influences make themselves felt in Ireland as the centuries go forward. St. Benedict's name occurs in the *Féilire Oengusa*, an Old Irish religious poem written about the year 800, which gives some account of all the principal saints of the Roman calendar with many local Irish additions. " To the world he was many victories, Benedict the stout pillar " : it is no more than a conventional phrase, composed to mark his feast on March 21. Benedict's name occurs seldom in Irish literature, and he himself was never the chief representative of Benedictine traditions in this country. Few saints were more popular in Irish devotion than St. Gregory the Great, for whom Irish legend has even invented an Irish father from the Kingdom of Kerry ! His body, so the story goes, was miraculously borne across the seas from the Tiber to the Irish coast ; and the saint's own wish was thus fulfilled, that he might find his last resting-place on Aran of the Saints. Through St. Gregory's *Dialogues* and *Moralia* Ireland was in touch with one great stream of Benedictine influence ; and to Gregory's influence must be added the unquestioned popularity here in Ireland of the writings of the Venerable Bede. Celtic Ireland's isolation from the main stream of European tradition can thus easily be exaggerated.

From the Carolingian revival and the reforming activities of St. Benedict of Aniane down to the great Roman revival of Papal influence in the second half of the eleventh century, the chief monastic centre of Western Europe was the Burgundian monastery of Cluny—and it would be difficult indeed to exaggerate the influence of " the Customs of Cluny " in the " Dark Ages " of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cluny's influence radiated from Burgundy throughout what had once been the Middle Kingdom of Lotharingia ; and I have discussed elsewhere the surviving texts which throw light on the contrast between Irish monastic traditions in this Middle Kingdom and the better organised, wealthier and more splendid observances of Cluny. Modern Benedictine scholars are apt to deprecate the insistence with which each succeeding generation of Cluniac monks strove to alter the inner balance of Benedictine life, throwing such weight on the elaboration of liturgical observance as to minimise

the importance of work, whether manual or intellectual. Yet each new phase of Benedictine discipline reflects the changing needs of a new age, and we may guess that the added splendour of Cluniac ceremonial was best calculated to impress an age in which the more brutal qualities of man as a fighting animal were everywhere predominant. When Cluny's observance was challenged by St. Bernard and his Cistercian monks in the twelfth century, the emphasis was already shifting back to a more active type of *militia Christi*. For there is much in common between the knightly self-immolation of the Cistercian ideal and the crusading spirit of St. Bernard's contemporaries.

It would take us too far to continue this brief summary of the ever-changing yet constant Benedictine tradition. Since Lanfranc and St. Anselm brought a new spirit into English Benedictinism with the Norman Conquest, and since these two great Benedictine teachers came into personal contact with the early reformers of our Irish discipline towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, we may note the greater intellectual character of Benedictine life as organised by Herlewin, Lanfranc and Anselm in the Norman abbey of Bec. Not until we reach the French Congregation of St. Maur in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shall we find another Benedictine monastery in which *fides quaerens intellectum* was so consciously made the centre of monastic life as in the days when Anselm succeeded Lanfranc as Master of the School at Bec. The strong current of monastic fervour and learning which is so evident in many of the Anglo-Norman monasteries of the next century was largely due to the influence of these two great Benedictine monks, whilst St. Wulfstan of Worcester revived in his own personal apostolate the earlier traditions of Anglo-Saxon Benedictinism. Here in Ireland their influence was felt; but it is characteristic of our Irish tradition that St. Bernard's far more austere interpretation of the *Regula Monasteriorum* made a stronger appeal to the reformers whose influence prevailed in this country. St. Malachy and the Cistercian monks of Mellifont remain as the type of Irish monastic fervour in this great age of reform.

Monte Cassino was itself affected by the revival which swept like a tide from Rome through all the countries of Western Europe, once the Papacy had been freed from its servitude in the middle of the eleventh century. Abbot Desiderius, who ruled the community of Monte Cassino from 1058 to 1087, was a contemporary of Hildebrand and he was also one of that small group of reforming Roman Cardinals who changed the face of European religious observance within two short generations. His own abbey of Monte Cassino grew in numbers until it counted some 200 monks, and the *scriptorium* of this great Benedictine monastery was so active and so influential in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that modern scholars have been forced to recognise the " Beneventan script "

as an important chapter in the long story of European handwriting. Many of the most precious treasures of the abbey's famous library date from this period, and it is at least good news to read in official statements from more than one government that these treasures have been carried in safety to the Vatican. May they come safely through the storm!

Hildebrand, like Abbot Desiderius, was himself a Benedictine monk—and indeed, at this supreme crisis in papal history, four Benedictine monks were chosen in succession to guide the Church's course through as great a tempest as has ever threatened her safety. We know them to-day as Popes St. Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II and Paschal II. Gregory VII died in tragic loneliness at Salerno on May 25, 1085. Newman has described his last hours at Salerno in a famous passage. Now that the Holy See has once more been brought to an hour of imminent danger, we may perhaps be permitted to recall the closing phrases of Newman's solemn music: "Gregory thought he had failed: so it is; often a cause seems to decline as its champion grows in years, and to die in his death; but this is to judge hastily; others are destined to complete what he began. No man is given to see his work through. 'Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening,' but the evening falls before it is done. There was One alone who began and finished, and died."

More than a year went by before the dismayed Roman Cardinals found courage to elect Hildebrand's successor. Their choice then fell on Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, whose monastery lay within the territory of those Norman lords to whom Gregory had appealed so often, and so vainly, for protection. Desiderius was an old and sick man when this burden was thrust on him, and it is said that he was hardly ever able to celebrate Holy Mass during the twelve months of his short pontificate. He died on September 26, 1087—and he was buried at Monte Cassino, where he had taken refuge for some months before his death. Salerno and Monte Cassino: these are tragic names to-day. Both sites have become the theatre of destructive modern warfare. Authentic news has come through which seems to establish the fact that the Cathedral of Salerno, where Gregory lies buried, has come safely through the storm. The Cathedral-Abbey of Monte Cassino has been less fortunate, and we must presume that the tomb of Pope Victor III has perished with the other monuments that had been preserved when the older abbatial church was reconstructed in the seventeenth century.

One last scene from the life of St. Benedict may fitly close this brief tribute to the saint's influence on European history. When the Gothic king Totila came to visit Benedict at Monte Cassino in 541 (it is almost the only incident narrated by St. Gregory that can be dated with any certainty) we are told that the saint prophesied the events of the next nine years, which were to end with the king's death as a punishment for his many crimes. Shortly after this episode Totila renewed his attack

on Rome, and it was commonly believed that, should the Gothic king enter Rome, he would destroy the city and reduce it to ashes. " It is not beneath the onrush of the barbarians that Rome shall fall," was Benedict's comment when he heard the news. " The city will be shaken by tempests, by storms, by earthquakes, and will fall in upon itself." St. Gregory, who tells the story in his *Dialogues*, adds the comment that men had already begun to see the fulfilment of this prophecy by the ruin that was daily coming to the city's monuments in his own day. Yet Rome still stands.

Some day no doubt the saint's prophecy may come true, and Rome—shaken by the storms and earthquakes of her destiny—may fall in upon herself. But Rome stands for more than is expressed in any of her buildings, just as Monte Cassino stands for the spirit, not the material monuments, of the Benedictine tradition. Those of us who have allowed ourselves to grow too fond of that which passes away and may so easily crumble into dust—fair buildings, ancient monuments and venerable manuscripts—do not find it easy to contemplate the prospect. But St. Benedict's Rule, with its insistence on the Gospel of Christ, not on the learning and the wisdom of this world, is a reminder to us all that gifts which the world rejects as weak and foolish are destined to prevail in the end over all that the world counts as wise and strong. *Talium enim est regnum caelorum.*

AUBREY GWYNN

RESEARCH AND THE PROBLEM OF RHEUMATISM

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

THAT Rheumatism is a major problem in this country emerges clearly from a brief survey of the facts. There are approximately 5,000 insured workers incapacitated by the disease at any given time. Probably three to four times as many suffer discomfort amounting to partial incapacity, though this is only a guess based on clinical experience. The cost to the National Health Insurance Society is enormous—£112,000 per annum; the cost to the community, over and above these payments, may be measured by the incapacity rate, 260,000 weeks in each year or the equivalent of 5,000 years! during which the workers concerned produce nothing. It is indeed true that, in this mad world of ours, idleness of people willing and able to work may not in fact represent any measurable economic loss. But this is only true in any sense if those who are idle belong to the new leisure-class of pariahs—the permanent unemployed—who must apparently be supported in misery so that the rest of us may enjoy a high standard of living. The worker in steady employment is still a source of real wealth; there is a concrete profit to the community from his work; and the more skilful he is, the greater is the profit. Therefore when he is incapacitated by illness, the community loses this net return and profit and, in addition, the cost of his and his dependants' maintenance of which the National Health Insurance payments are but a small fraction. If we assess the cost of maintenance of a man or woman at £52 per year, we have a total of approximately £260,000 per year. The insurance payment of £110,000 is clearly less than half this amount. We may therefore multiply the total of the N. H. I. payments by 2·5 to obtain a basic figure for the cost to the community in addition to the loss of the normal net return for the employed worker. Since we have made no allowance for dependants, nor for salaried workers, nor for the partial incapacity which must cost so much in inefficient work at all levels of the social organism, this rough calculation undoubtedly underestimates grossly the net cost of rheumatism to the community. But this is not the whole story. Rheumatism is one of the causes of chronic heart disease, which in its turn kills some 9,000 persons per year after a long and generally costly illness.

That rheumatism is a practical problem of the first magnitude is thus well established. Now there are three types or classes of practical problems: those that have so far proved insoluble; those that are solved in the sense that their nature, causes, and effects are fully understood; and those that are in course of practical solution or are already resolved. The

whole story of the achievement of science might be told in terms of this classification. The steady progress of problems from class 1 to class 3, with their final resolution and disappearance, is the fruit of the patient and often apparently pointless work of the growing multitude of mole-like experimental scientists. The public generally sees and hears very little of the slow subterranean toil that is the necessary foundation for the administrative structure, be it factory or public health clinic, which is its crowning practical achievement. And it is difficult to make either public or paymaster believe that money is well invested which promises such a remote and conditional return. Hence, to take an example from our own young state, the contrast between the slender trickle of expenditure on primary research and experimental investigation as compared with the vast outlay on such projects as the Electricity Supply Board, Turf Board, Alcohol Factories, Sugar Factories—to mention the chief corporative enterprises of the state, good and bad, profitable and unprofitable, but all resting on the results of former research and calling for a constant stream of experimental investigation to maintain them in efficient operation. We shall return to this question to point the moral when we have shown what science has to say about rheumatism, and to what point the problem has advanced in its passage from complete obscurity to full illumination.

Rheumatism is not fully elucidated. There is not yet any such universal agreement of experts on all aspects of the disease as one finds, for instance, in tuberculosis. It is therefore not possible to speak with absolute assurance on every facet of the subject, nor to lay down with full confidence a plan complete in every detail which should permit of a radical attack on and final conquest of the disease. Yet progress has been so rapid in recent decades that it is now possible to present an account which will command general agreement and result in planned action with the certain prospect of a reasonable degree of success. This is not the place to argue the controversial issues, and I shall content myself with an apology in advance to those who disagree with this or that detail which is presented here with more emphasis than is warranted by the existing state of knowledge. Our first task is to state what rheumatism is, what are its causes, and how it may be treated and prevented. This will lead on to a consideration of the concrete special needs of Ireland in connection with the disease.

Rheumatism is a painful and often crippling affection of muscles, particularly the insertions of muscles in the joint capsule, and of the joints themselves. The heart is often affected and may be the principal seat of the disease. Two points arise in connection with this distribution of rheumatic lesions. The efficiency of the body may be compared with that of a machine: in this analogy the heart is the motor, the muscles and joints the working parts which transform energy derived from combustion into external action. No machine can, of course, compare

with the infinite adaptability of the human arm and hand, nor is any machine capable of the same wide range of efficiency. This adaptability and precise efficiency of the human limb—for the leg and foot come only second to the arm and hand in this respect—are achieved by the alignment of a series of rigid sections linked by fibrous bands and moved by the leverage of contracting muscles, which work together in an astounding interplay of contraction and relaxation under the over-all control of the brain and nerves. The joints, at which movement occurs, are most ingenious in their adaptation to human needs. They are enclosed in a glove of inelastic fibrous tissue—the capsule—lined with a lubricating membrane—called the synovia—and provided with shock-absorbers—the fibro-cartilages—which protect the bones from end to end splintering contact across the joint-space. The muscles, which form the dynamic connection between the body and the limbs and between the different segments of each limb, are inserted by means of a short fibro-elastic tendon into the joint capsule, or into the bone. Each insertion of a major muscle is cushioned by a synovial pocket called a bursa, which protects the tendon from the wear and tear of friction against a bony surface or promontory.

In the normal person all these elaborate and complementary structures persist in complete working order, carrying out their own repairs silently through a long life. But even in the best of us the time comes at last when the joints begin to creak, the muscles to stiffen and tire, the heart to labour and falter. This degeneration, which is the due of old age, used to be regarded as inevitable and so natural as not to call for " explanation." Scientists are however curious people who take nothing for granted, and they have pointed out that this cumulative slowing-up of the machine occurs at widely different ages in different people, that it can apparently be postponed or accelerated by changes in the mode of life, and that the lesions of old age, insofar as they affect the motor-apparatus, bear a striking resemblance to many forms of rheumatism both in their pathological details and manifest effects.

Heredity—what our forefathers called the rheumatic diathesis——has something to do with this degeneration. Strain and hard usage accelerate the appearance of degeneration, so that the lesions may appear first in the region of the body most subject to hard continual use. Cold and wet are also operative ; hence the prevalence of the " rheumatics " amongst peasants and fishermen. Finally, the streptococcus adds its quota. The role of the streptococcus in the production of rheumatism is not yet clear. The younger the patient, the more certain you are to find it, and the easier it is to trace the connection between it and the disease. Where it is present and active, rheumatism takes on a more inflammatory and less degenerative appearance. There may be fever, prostration, sometimes acute joint pain, instead of the twinges and nagging

pain of the old man's disease. The danger to the heart depends on streptococcal participation, and is therefore most prominent in the rheumatism of children and young people. This disease, which probably accounts for 10-30 per cent of fatal heart disease in later life, occurs in very young children in close association with recurrent sore throats, either as an acute febrile infection or a slow insidious complaint. There may be little pain, and this is liable to be dismissed as growing pains; the heart lesion then develops slowly, without at first producing any striking results. Thus irreparable damage may be done before the condition is diagnosed, unless doctors, parents and schoolmasters realise clearly the sinister importance of recurrent mild sore throats in young children under their care.

In later life rheumatism attacks predominantly the muscles, especially at the tendinous insertions and the joints. Here again we have the acute and the chronic forms, with a varying degree of streptococcal participation. And so it is with the joints, where all grades of severity occur from the stormy inflammatory rheumatoid arthritis in middle age to the slow crippling osteo-arthritis which exaggerates the natural infirmities of old age. The influence of cold and damp is most prominent in the chronic forms, that of the streptococcus in the acute.

Social factors make their usual contribution. If you are poor, ill-fed and ill-clothed, your children will fall more easily victims to rheumatic heart-disease and you will struggle with less success than your prosperous neighbour against the steady progress of the chronic forms. Malnutrition and bad housing are the main social determinants. In a London survey it was found that the inhabitants of the Thames slums, which are always damp and sometimes flooded, are particularly liable to the malignant forms of juvenile rheumatism. Improved housing, the insistence on efficient damp-courses in newly built houses, and flood control have all made their contribution to the steady fall in the incidence of rheumatic fever (*i.e.* juvenile rheumatism) and its deadly sequel, progressive heart disease, in England. Improved nutrition—assured by the provision of cheap milk and school meals—and adequate relief for unemployed workers and their families have contributed towards the successful campaign which is in England an even more triumphant proof of the value of preventive medicine than that against tuberculosis. In the twenty years before the present war the fall in the incidence of juvenile rheumatism, the most dangerous form of the disease, was continuous and rapid after a sharp rise during the last war. From a high point of 9·5 per 100,000 living in the decade 1880-90, the death-rate fell in steady sequence to 1·2 in 1942, and this war has witnessed no alarming recurrence such as was experienced in the last one. The death rate from all forms of heart disease in England fell in strict alignment to the curve of rheumatic-fever deaths, an eloquent testimony to the importance of the latter in the

production of fatal heart disease. In Éire the rheumatic-fever death-rate averaged 3·6 per 100,000 living in the three years 1939-42, or just three times the English rate, and 65 per cent of the deaths from this cause occurred before the age of forty.

In the U.S.A. the stress is laid rather on the prevention and control of streptococcal infection than on environmental factors. This is probably due to the fact that, as environmental factors recede, the streptococcus becomes all the more important as an aetiological factor; and in the U.S.A. the white population enjoys a very high standard of housing and nutrition.

The American and English effort to control the progress of juvenile rheumatism by the use of drugs, which will counteract the streptococcal invasion and prevent serious damage to the heart, has led to the development of two lines of drug treatment based on the use of aspirin and sulphonamides. This is not the place to enter into details, but it is necessary for our purpose to say this much: drug treatment, if it is to be successful, must be combined with very rigid bed rest in airy sunny sanatoria and must be controlled by repeated bacteriological and serial blood examination. This implies a background of skilled investigators handling modern equipment in well-designed buildings. It implies also, since the treatment may last for years, the possibility of educating the children in bed on the lines which have been developed so successfully for tubercular children in St. Mary's Hospital, Cappagh. Finally, it is necessary to ensure early diagnosis by stimulating school-teachers to co-operate with the school medical inspectors, who in turn refer the suspected children to specialist clinics which serve as collecting stations for the sanatoria. The details of this service have been worked out in England and, with more efficiency and lavish expenditure, in the U.S.A. The authorities in these countries are convinced that money spent on the disease in its earliest stages will bring a rich return in the years to come, both in increased productivity during the working life and in the steady diminution of the prevalence of cardiac disease. Anyone familiar with Dublin hospital wards will not need to be convinced of the immense saving which a reduction of (say) 30 per cent in heart disease would represent to our hospitals. It would, for instance, go a long way towards solving our bed problem at one stroke.

But there is very little hope of such a happy outcome here unless we make drastic changes in our present arrangements for the detection, control and cure of the disease. There are at present in Éire two or three diagnostic clinics and a small number of beds allotted in convalescent homes unprovided with any facilities, good or bad, for bacteriological and serological investigation. This miserably inadequate provision is of quite recent date, and there is no sign that any large scale plan is on the horizon. Yet we have the advantage of the dearly bought experience

of other countries to point the way and guide us in our approach to a solution. It has been estimated that 90-100 per cent of the deaths from heart disease occurring before the age of 40 are due to juvenile rheumatism and that 75 per cent of all cases of rheumatic fever occur between the ages of 5 and 30 years. These figures suggest that this disease ranks with tuberculosis as a principle cause of juvenile disease and death.

The rheumatism of middle and later life is not a major killing disease. It makes up for this, however, by its burden of pain, which varies from the occasional bout of sciatica, lumbago or neuritis to the continual nagging torment of muscular rheumatism—now rebaptised by doctors fibrositis—which makes the unfortunate sufferer a living barometer; and by the progressive invalidism of arthritis which, if not checked, reduces the patient to a painful bedridden helplessness. The bulk of the £110,000 spent by the National Health Insurance Society on rheumatism every year is paid out to patients under treatment for one or other of these chronic forms. The average period of illness as given, in a recent report, is 18 weeks for men and 20-30 weeks for women; and this disease accounts for 62 per cent of the total weeks of illness for men in 1939 and 67·5 per cent for women. This would be bad enough if there was any assurance that these patients had been cured of their disease with a fair prospect of non-recurrence. But, as we all know, the first attack is generally the precursor of a series which ends only with life itself.

We do not yet know how to prevent rheumatism, nor how to cure it beyond the possibility of recurrence. But we do know a great deal about the factors which favour its development, and we know how to curtail the attack and lessen the danger of relapse. Prevention is to some extent dependent on the social factors which have been already mentioned, though to a lesser degree than in the case of juvenile rheumatism. Much more important is the cumulative effect of postural defects. Our people are badly served in this matter. In continental countries, where middle-aged rheumatism appears to be a less serious problem, the school children are far more carefully trained in the correct management of their muscles, and the habits formed in childhood are subsequently reinforced by military training. Here, on the other hand, the majority of children leave school at 14, most of them with very poorly trained bodies, and pass into an adolescence which is all too frequently characterized by malnutrition, unemployment or overwork, and a complete absence of any systematic training in muscle balance or the correct use of groups of muscles in industrial processes. There is ample evidence that a large proportion of our adolescents suffer from chronic lack of the body-building foods. Their need for these, the most expensive elements of the diet comprising meat, eggs and green vegetables, increases sharply when they leave school and reaches a maximum between the ages of 17 and 21. Yet at this time, when the cost of adequate food alone cannot fall short of 10/– to 11/–

per week at present prices and the cost of clothes is necessarily higher for them than at any other period of their lives, their earnings are often barely sufficient to pay for food alone; and if they are unemployed, the income available to provide for their needs is liable to be decreased by the various relieving authorities.

The results in retarded growth and development, in heavy tuberculosis incidence and mortality, are only too well known to every experienced doctor. But the defective muscular tone and the maladjustment of the skeleton under ill-supported strain only bear fruit in later life. This cumulative and generally silent process, by which an undergrown boy or girl of 15 grows through a shambling loose-hung lounging adolescence into a painful rheumatic middle-age, is revealed by modern scientific knowledge as a necessary sequence. Our bodies are not intended to hang together supported as on wires by the ligaments and tendons which connect the different bony sectors. These relatively inelastic structures are designed to control the movements of the parts on one another, not to support weight. The muscles, which are elastic and should be taut, are charged with the double task of supporting our bodies in the erect position and of providing a range of smooth precise movement of the bony parts on one another. The loose maldeveloped slack muscles of our young people are only capable of jerky ill-timed movements, which may be compared to the sharp sudden pull with which we snap a piece of twine rather than the steady heave of the tug-o'-war team.

When the boy begins to earn his living, his lack of muscular control will hamper him in every direction. He does not know either how to stand or how to sit: there is one right way and a multitude of wrong ways of doing both. He does not know and is rarely taught what group of muscles in the arm and hand he should use for his task. His more fortunate bourgeois brother will be learning, from experts, in a secondary school or university, how to swim and run, play tennis, cricket and golf—each one of which occupations, if properly learnt and practised, ensures a right use of the muscular system; while he must learn for himself as best he may by the chancy method of trial and error. The cumulative effect of this long continued strain creates a favourable terrain for the slow development of chronic rheumatic inflammation in and around the joints and muscular insertions which culminates in the statistical picture summarized above.

Prevention, then, must start in the schools and homes of our young people. It must include adequate nutrition and training by experts in correct posture and athletics. It must continue in the factory and workshop with detailed instruction in the correct and precise performance of each task with the minimum of strain and fatigue along lines analogous to those employed in teaching typing or, at a higher level, piano-playing. Within its scope fall measures to prevent overstrain by the provision

of canteens and restrooms in factories and the enforcement of a rigid upper limit on the hours of juvenile work.

But prevention will not provide a complete solution. There remains the treatment and rapid cure of those who develop the disease. This branch of therapeutics has made very great advances in the last thirty years, but the treatment is complicated and prolonged. There is no question of the issue of a box of tablets or a bottle of medicine; nor can we lay down any routine plan which can be applied by rule of thumb to every case. The treatment, if it is to be successful, must be highly individualized to suit the special needs of each patient. It involves the co-operation of a team of technically trained personnel working under the direction of a medical specialist and operating a wide range of electrical apparatus, baths and gymnastic appliances. The capital investment is considerable, and the training of the technical personnel in massage and the other branches of treatment takes several years. We have in Ireland a competent Massage Institute which exports a high percentage of its graduates, but we are not well supplied with the facilities for training in the other branches. That the investment in therapeutic facilities is worth while has been amply proved by the experience of Germany and Austria and, more recently, of England. The saving under all heads is large from the start, and increases progressively with growing control of the disease.

If we are to succeed in the planned mastery of this socio-medical problem a background of fundamental and applied research is essential. There are still many features in the causation, course and cure of rheumatism which await explanation. We cannot afford to continue in our present attitude of thankfulness for benefits received and lively anticipation of easy profits to come from the hard work of other countries. There is an easy-going and quite fallacious assumption current in medical and administrative circles that we can and should apply the practical results of foreign research without doing any of the groundwork ourselves. This may be true up to a point where the use of specific remedies, such as insulin for diabetes or the Sulphonamide drugs for acute infections, is concerned; even in this field we suffer by a lack of the facilities and special skill which can only be developed at the laboratory bench. We find ourselves at a loss when problems arise in the course of treatment which are not covered by the instructions on the bottle or by the statements in the latest edition of the standard text book. The assumption, however, is certainly not true where the investigation and treatment of chronic disease is concerned. The best of our young doctors, the men who can make the most efficient use both of the specific remedies and of the special techniques used in the diagnosis and treatment of chronic disease are those who have passed years at home and abroad in well-equipped laboratories under the dull discipline of experimental research. We

must build up a bigger body of these fully trained medical investigators if we are to handle any of our public health problems with success. And they must constitute a well-balanced group. It is idle to try to cut in at the head of the queue. Nor can we hope to attack vast problems extempore. There has been lately a tendency to expect our Medical Research Council to produce miraculous rabbits out of a non-existent hat, which is characteristic of this uninstructed mentality.

Research and experimental investigation are slow growing and need a rich amply manured soil. You cannot issue orders to solve or even to investigate this or that problem until you have built up a well-founded body of investigators; and even then you will generally be better advised to leave them alone to develop their own line of investigation. There is always the danger of missing some really important discovery because the investigator who is hot on the trail has been diverted to the solution of some more pressing but ultimately far less profitable problem. On the other hand a large group of thoroughly trained investigators and technical assistants is an invaluable asset in times of national emergency, as the experience of many countries in this war has amply shown.

We must have the courage to invest largely in training before we can attempt to reap the benefits in results. The example of many other backward countries, who have built up in the last fifty years an impressive structure of research and investigation at enormous cost and found it worth while, should be our inspiration. It is time that everyone concerned realized that £5,000 a year, the present income of the Medical Research Council, is a ludicrously small fraction of our national income when considered in relation to the enormous cost of disease in this country and the lack of the most elementary requirements in many important fields of modern research.

However, we may hope that, with an increasing realization of the size and complexity of our problems, will come a new liberality and a wider outlook in our rulers. If it does come, a great part of the credit will properly go to the National Health Insurance Corporation, which is engaged on the essential preliminary study of the facts and is doing everything possible to instruct our masters. The report on rheumatism, which has furnished the material on which this article is largely based, is only one of a series of surveys that are building up a complete picture of the National Health. The success of this Corporation, with its fine tradition of generous anonymous assistance to all workers in the field of public health, is of good augury for the future and surely points the way to a more rational organization of our national life.

T. W. T. Dillon

M. MARITAIN ON EDUCATION

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

A QUARTER of a century ago, students of educational theory thought of America chiefly as the home of William James and John Dewey. It is true that Irving Babbitt and his disciples of the Humanist school represented a vigorous reaction against the rather bleak experimental and behaviourist doctrines of these two masters. Humanism, for all its early promise of a healthy return to saner traditions, never quite succeeded in making a popular appeal, and it looked as if the United States was destined to become the great source from which a mechanistic philosophy was to flow through the world with the ever-growing volume of its machine-made goods. Suddenly a change came over the scene with the appointment in 1929 of Robert Maynard Hutchins as President of Chicago University. The new President was only thirty, but ten years later he was to be described as " a natural-born, stem-winding hell-raiser " and as the most dangerous man in American education, who might yet become one of the most dangerous men in American life. Such a man in such a position was bound to make a greater stir than the more academic prophets of Babbitt's Humanism. In effect, he seems to have set going a real revolution in American educational ideas and practice. Though his plans for reform proved difficult to operate in such a vast university as Chicago, his most important book, *The Higher Learning in America*, has, in the words of the writer already quoted, proved to be " a veritable *Gone With the Wind* among serious educational treatises," and his articles have reached and influenced an enormous public.

We have recently been informed, even in this country, that the Renaissance has come to an end. It may be pertinent to point out that Berdyaev announced the event a good many years ago, and accompanied his announcement with the prophecy of a new Middle Age. The great significance of Hutchins is that, in the centre of modern industrial America, he has called for and worked for a return to medieval educational ideals. A student of Aristotle and St. Thomas, though not a Catholic, he wishes above all to see metaphysics restored to its ancient primacy. " We are " he says " a faithless generation, and we take no stock in revelation. To look to theology to unify the modern university is futile and vain." Unity of educational aim is his first principle, and his two ideological enemies are specialisation and vocationalism. His proposals go far beyond the regrouping and re-ordering of university studies. He wishes also for a thorough reform of the American high school and college, so as to combine the last two years of the former with the first two years of the latter in an institution which will impart to the entire adolescent popula-

tion of the United States " the accumulated wisdom of the race." So far his programme has been adopted in its entirety only by St. John's College, Annapolis, of whose board he is chairman and where it has met with much success. The eagerness with which it has been discussed, denounced, approved and criticised by every school of thought—even Dewey himself has had to take it into account—gives promise of great developments in the future.

President Hutchins has long been an admirer of the most eminent exponent of Thomism, Jacques Maritain, now an exile in America. It is therefore an event of considerable importance that M. Maritain should have propounded his own educational philosophy in a series of lectures delivered last year before Yale University. In the preface to the very tastefully-produced volume[1] in which his lectures are published, M. Maritain pays a special tribute to the work and books of President Hutchins, his warm sympathy with whom is manifest throughout its closely-reasoned pages. Like most of M. Maritain's books, *Education at the Cross Roads* does not exactly make light reading. But its own value and its author's deservedly high reputation are sure to cause it to be acclaimed, not only in America but all over the English-speaking world, as perhaps the most complete and authoritative statement so far written of the Catholic view on modern educational problems. It is naturally related to the very special circumstances of present-day America, but its interest transcends national peculiarities, and it should become a valuable guide for all Catholics interested in education—indeed for all, whether Catholics or not, who wish to see the Hellenic-Jewish-Christian cultural tradition restored and preserved. Incidentally, while supporting the opinions and policy of President Hutchins and his associates, it also supplies them with a most useful complement and corrective from a standpoint closely similar to their own.

M. Maritain begins by defining education as " an *ethical* art, or rather a practical wisdom in which a determinate art is embodied." Now every art has an end, an object, and the great errors in modern educational theory and practice are errors concerning ends. On the one hand pedagogical technique has developed so richly during the past three centuries that, while offering many excellences in itself, it has run the risk of forgetting the end for which it exists, like a doctor whose examination of his patient's symptoms and reactions is so thorough that he forgets to prescribe any curative treatment. The grave reality of this danger is manifest in the fact that most educational discussions, even here in Ireland, are concerned rather with the provision of machinery than with the purpose for which it is to be used. This is a vice into which governments very easily fall, because nowadays everybody looks to the State to make

[1] *Education at the Cross-Roads.* By Jacques Maritain. Terry Lectures 1943. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Milford. 13/6 net.

the machinery available in the shape of schools, financial assistance, inspection systems, examinations, and even curricula. Teachers themselves are also remarkably prone to obsession with methods, systems, and plans, while forgetting the object for which all these things exist, which is to turn out educated persons of real quality. The whole nineteenth century movement for universal elementary education has indeed proved a bitter disappointment for just this reason: it was dominated by the idea that, if the means were lavishly provided, the ends might be left to take care of themselves. Thus it has come about that much labour and expense is devoted to producing readers of cheap novels, cinema-addicts, and students of Sunday-paper astrology. Ultimately mass education has been responsible for mass-man, the destined victim of the totalitarian power-monster.

On the other hand, even when attention has been directed towards ends, immense damage has been done by a whole series of false ideas as to what these ends really are. " Man is not merely an animal of nature, like a skylark or a bear." If he were, he would be incapable of education, which exists as an art precisely because he is both a spiritual person and a material individual, a free being endowed with reason, whose very history has been made by his freedom. The true object of education is to help the growing man, by means of discipline, tradition, and knowledge, to realise and determine himself. M. Maritain's classification of the seven " misconceptions about ends," which keep on recurring in many various disguises in the teachings of false philosophers, is worthy of the most careful study. It is not necessary for us here to follow the details of his argument, nor indeed would it be fair to try to make a summary of an already brief discussion. All the misconceptions about the ends of education criticised in this book result from an over-emphasis of one or another of its aspects, which should all have their proper place in a fully reasoned philosophy.

Perhaps M. Maritain's greatest service to modern philosophical thought has been his constant insistence on the co-ordination of knowledge, in the spirit of Aristotle and St. Thomas, into a single rational synthesis. The Renaissance has at long last wrecked itself, and almost wrecked humanity, on the anarchy and lack of principle which already distinguished it in its earliest prophets, men like Petrarch and Lorenzo Valla. We can easily sympathise with the temptation which led men in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to abandon the arid disputations of the later Schoolmen for the moral platitudes which Cicero dressed up in his tasteful rhetoric. We can also readily acknowledge the immense benefits which sprang from renewed contact with the wisdom of antiquity. Unfortunately, as is now sufficiently clear, the finest essence of that wisdom was already in the grasp of Western Europe when St. Albert and St. Thomas had revealed and completed the deposit of Aristotelian philosophy transmitted

first through the Arabs and finally direct from the Greek. In preferring Cicero to Aristotle the Renaissance, however plausible its excuse, was really going off the broad highway of true humanism and mistaking the accidental for the essential. It is this ancient aberration that has produced, at a long distance, the divorce between the life of the spirit and the life of society which, as Mr. Christopher Dawson warns us, will ruin civilisation itself unless it be ended. One of the most hopeful signs of a possible regeneration, a new Renaissance of the central Hellenic tradition, is the prestige once more won for Aristotelianism by M. Maritain.

It may perhaps be found profitable to group the dominant misconceptions about the nature of the end to be sought in the educational process into a series of mutually contradictory pairs of propositions. M. Maritain remarks, to begin with, that there are only two categories of notions concerning man which " play fair " : the purely scientific idea, which takes account only of measurable and observable data without considering anything like being or essence, and the philosophical-religious idea, which is ontological and which, while not entirely verifiable in sense-experience, takes account of the intangible, intrinsic, and in the fullest sense real nature of man. The scientific idea, so long as its limitations are recognised, as they are by the neo-positivists of Vienna, can render invaluable service in collecting more and more information about means and techniques. Where the mischief begins is when this scientific idea invades a domain outside its proper one and, either implicitly or explicitly, purports to do the work or take the place of the philosophical and religious idea.

This is in part what happens in the case of Pragmatism, hitherto known as America's most distinctive contribution to educational theory. The experimental method, which of course has its own unique value in its own place, is generalised into a whole philosophy of life and used to turn the intellect itself into an anti-intellectual agent. From the dominance of Pragmatism over American education have sprung the four " cults " of scepticism, presentism, scientism, and anti-intellectualism, listed by President Hutchins in his most recent book, *Education for Freedom*, as evil influences working in the end against the freedom and democracy from which they have sprung. Such influences are part of the very air breathed by the modern world. There is perhaps more pertinence even than he realises in M. Maritain's comparison of an education inspired by them with " an architecture which would not have any idea of what is to be built, and would only tend to the growth of the construction in whatever direction a new addition of materials is feasible." The idea could and probably will be carried further than this. Surrealism is already promising us houses without form to go with shapeless sculpture, atonal music, and paintings without design. The Renaissance art of architecture has survived longer than the other arts only because unappreciative patrons continue to demand houses which will stay standing and keep out the wet.

We have probably not long to wait for some daring exponent of living architecture to present us with a surrealist town plan.

The opposite heresy to Pragmatism is Sociologism, which makes " social conditioning " the supreme end of education. No doubt it is true in one sense that the aim of education is social, in that its products must be active members of a given society ; and this end predominates entirely over the strictly material purpose of preparing men for jobs, of which we hear so much in Ireland. The social purpose is however best attained not by any special " conditioning " for social ends, but by so developing the citizen's personality, in harmony with yet not entirely enslaved to the traditions of his community, that he can ultimately take his place in society as an autonomous person. Perhaps the most important part of President Hutchins's proposed reform, in which M. Maritain entirely agrees with him, is his effort to secure this end by imparting to all adolescents during their school career a general knowledge of " the accumulated wisdom of the race." This wisdom is to be found in the great literatures of Europe, studied not as mere linguistic material nor with a purely literary or aesthetic bias, but for their combination of thought-content and expression. Discussing the old problem of the relation between knowledge and training, M. Maritain quotes with strong approval Herbert Spencer's dictum that if we give our pupils " the knowledge that is of most worth," the pursuit of such knowledge will afford the best mental discipline. The old education is justly to be condemned for its abstract and bookish individualism ; but the alternative is not the new individualism which relies on experiment and uncorrelated experience, nor mechanical concentration on studies of a purely social nature. It is a return to the ancient and sound idea of a hierarchy of knowledge, which will recast the medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium* so as to bring them into line with modern needs.

Two other contrasted heresies—arising, like all heresies, from an unhealthy over-emphasis of what is right in its own place—are Intellectualism and Voluntarism. In former times the first of these led educators to train their pupils chiefly for dialectical or rhetorical skill. This was the great fault of Roman education in general and became, through concentration on style, also the chief fault of the Renaissance. Its effects were most marked in the bourgeois era, in which education was a class privilege. More recently it has been succeeded by scientific and technical specialisation, which, it should never be forgotten, is another fruit of the Renaissance, this time having its origin rather in Greek science than in Roman pedagogy. It represents of course rather a very strong trend than a complete system, for the good reason that such a system would be a monstrosity. But united as it has come to be with the still stronger demand for economic returns, both personal and social, from education, it constitutes a real danger for democracy. We are always prone to forget that

no political system has more need than democracy for the free play and full development of spiritual energies. " The democratic way of life demands primarily liberal education for all and a general humanistic development throughout society." Voluntarism is one kind of excessive reaction against this undue specialisation. Flying to the opposite extreme, it subordinates the intelligence to the will and appeals to the virtue of irrational forces. This heresy goes back to Schopenhauer's pessimistic view of " the world as will," which so profoundly influenced Carlyle and Nietzsche and plays a great part in the *Weltanschauung* of the totalitarian State today. Once more it is a question of over-emphasis ; for the will is a most powerful factor in the formation of character, and its training, especially in childhood and early youth, is of supreme importance. But the true way to reach and influence the will is through the intelligence and not by its denial.

Last but not least in M. Maritain's list of misconceptions is the terribly common modern belief that everything can be learned. There is a curious resemblance, which is by no means accidental, between this belief and the doctrine of the Greek Sophists, that everything, including virtue itself, can be taught. Readers of Plato will remember that this celebrated problem, whether virtue can be taught, plays a constant part in his early dialogues. It was solved in the end by Aristotle's doctrine of *phronesis* or prudence, the development of which it is one of Dr. Werner Jaeger's chief merits to have traced. Prudence is defined by M. Maritain as " an inner vital power of judgment developed in the mind and backed up by a well-directed will, which cannot be replaced by any learning whatsoever." Education is full of paradoxes, of which this is the greatest : it must be primarily concerned with the gift of practical wisdom, yet this is a gift which it cannot impart. Herein lies the whole problem of the relation between teacher and pupil, to which M. Maritain's book devotes many precious pages. He is perhaps too good an Aristotelian to be always entirely fair to Plato, whose early theory of Reminiscence he rather exaggerates. After all this was merely a partly symbolical statement of the necessity for a contribution from the pupil himself to the educational process. Indeed it might easily be argued that nothing was more original in Plato's whole teaching than his repeated insistence that, in the last resort, the pupil must be his own educator ; and this is exactly the contention of M. Maritain. " Any education which considers the teacher as the principal agent perverts the very nature of the educational task," he declares, and his vigorous condemnation of the use of the rod in the school might be read with profit by many an Irish teacher. It is a depressing thought that, in spite of all progress, the rod is still used copiously in our schools, not merely as an aid to discipline, where it might perhaps be justified, but as a strictly pedagogical instrument to make good the incapacity of teachers to get their pupils to think. Too frequently the

result is the atrophy of the pupil's mind instead of that " freeing of the intuitive power " on which M. Maritain, following Plato, lays just and necessary emphasis.

In the third of this series of lectures, under the title " The Humanities and General Education," there is a most interesting discussion of the curriculum to be followed at each stage, elementary, secondary, and university. Although the suggestions made, which are mainly in harmony with those put forward by President Hutchins, apply strictly to American conditions, they will be found of great value by educators everywhere by reason of the fact that they attempt that adaptation of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* to modern needs to which reference is made above. In spite of differing circumstances it would be well worth considering how they could be applied in Ireland, where we badly need some new ideas. M. Maritain would divide the whole educational process as follows, beginning at the age of six. A period of elementary education of seven years would be subdivided into an initial stage of four years and a supplementary stage of three. This would be followed by what we should call the secondary period but M. Maritain significantly calls " the Humanities," again running for seven years, to nineteen, and subdivided into three years of " high school " and four years of " college." At nineteen the B.A. degree would be awarded as crowning the Humanities and making possible entry to the university. Each stage is fitted to the normal intellectual development of the pupil. On nothing is M. Maritain more emphatic than on the need for treating the child not as a diminutive adult to be crammed with adult knowledge but as a person at a definite period of growth, to whose special needs knowledge and science must be adapted.

This consideration does something to explain one puzzling point in his scheme for the secondary or " high school " stage. After remarking that foreign languages should be learned from early youth (he envisages children as having mastered them by sixteen), he goes on to suggest that, besides these, the main subjects at this stage should be comparative grammar, history, natural history, and the art of expression. The inclusion of comparative grammar in such a list is certainly startling. We are accustomed to the teaching of the other subjects mentioned at the secondary level, and it will be noted (perhaps with alarm, perhaps with relief) that no place is left at all for mathematics in the " high school " ; but it is doubtful if even in America anyone has really tried to teach comparative philology to such young pupils. Perhaps M. Maritain means something different from what in English is normally called by the name ; perhaps, on the other hand, he is suggesting the elaboration of some simplified form of comparative philology suitable for the child who is already familiar with more than one language. His curriculum specifically omits Latin and Greek : " in my opinion, they would represent chiefly a waste of time for the many destined to forget them." Their absence, particularly

that of Greek, would certainly necessitate a special kind of comparative philology. The revolutionary nature of such a course, omitting both classics and mathematics, is obvious; but it must be remembered that it is intended for the generality of American high school pupils, and that the widest and fullest reading of the great classics of all languages in translation is a part of the course.

The four years of "college" would introduce the pupil in careful order to mathematics, logic, physics, metaphysics, and fine arts, as well as continuing his studies in literature, history, natural sciences and the history of science. In the final year he would study also ethics and political and social philosophy. The seven years would thus impart to the pupil a modern equivalent to the seven liberal arts, and the curriculum is to be understood on the whole as a return from the Renaissance scheme of higher education to that of the Middle Ages. It would be impossible to do more here than indicate its general lines, with the minimum of criticism and without any reference to the interesting question of its suitability to Irish conditions. On one point M. Maritain goes beyond the ideas of President Hutchins and his disciples. While, of course, believing in natural morality and including its teaching as a regular part of the course, he says: "I have little trust in the educational efficacy of any merely rational moral teaching abstractly detached from its religious environment." He also wishes to provide optional courses in theology for the last two or three college years. As we have seen, entrance to the university would be at nineteen; the normal time required for the M.A. degree would be three years, and for the Ph.D. from two to four more. The university would embrace four "orders" of higher knowledge and would be designed not, as in the Middle Ages, for the formation of an intellectual élite consisting essentially of clerics nor, as in later centuries, for the formation of potential members of the ruling classes. Its purpose would be the special training of a much larger and more diversified mass of outstanding citizens of all ranks in the nation. Newman's famous definition "a place of teaching universal knowledge" is accepted, but account is also taken of the modern demand for specialisation. Thus the first "order" would consist of the useful arts and applied sciences—engineering, agriculture, commerce, and the like. The second "order" would include practical sciences such as medicine, law, and education. The third would be the realm of the speculative sciences and fine arts: mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, anthropology, history, languages, literatures, archaeology, and music. The fourth and highest would deal with "those sciences which are also wisdom": philosophy, theology, and the history of religions.

M. Maritain conceives of this university as divided into institutes organically linked with each other rather than into departments or faculties as at present. The institutes of each "order" would be grouped in "Cities"; every student would be required to attend courses in the

two highest orders, and of these the courses in general philosophy, ethics, politics and the history of civilisation would be compulsory. Theology, in the special circumstances of America, would be a free choice, and in non-denominational universities would be divided into institutes for different religious persuasions. Such teaching should be kept entirely distinct from that given in religious seminaries. " Its aim should be, not to form a priest, a minister, or a rabbi, but to enlighten students of secular matters about the great doctrines and perspectives of theological wisdom." The history of religions would form an important part of the curriculum. Beyond the university there would continue to exist the specially organised and endowed institutes of advanced research that have become so prominent in recent times. Another complement to the university would be special centres of spiritual enlightenment, staffed by men trained in the spiritual life and in contemplation. The provision of regular retreats in such institutions would be a simple matter for Catholics ; M. Maritain points to the Hindu *ashrams* and to the American Quaker school at Pendle Hill as examples of their possibilities even outside the Church. Enough has perhaps been said to demonstrate the wealth and variety of his ideas and their far-reaching implications.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE IRISH FOLKLORE COMMISSION*

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS SHAW, S.J.

TO the Old Irish *Martyrology of Oengus* there are two prefaces which differ in many respects. But, following a good tradition, they agree that " four things are required by every literary work, to wit, a Place, an Author, a Time and a Cause of Writing." In the case of this work the place is Dublin, the author's name is given above, the time is a little out of joint, for the cause of writing is Seán Ó Súilleabháin's *Handbook of Irish Folklore* which appeared a little over a year ago. But it would not be a mere subtlety of dialectic to say that the cause of not writing was not other than the same book. Reviewers of popular fiction occasionally say: " *The Mystery of the Blood-stained Toe-nail* (or some such title) kept me up till three. Once you take it up, you cannot leave it down; it must be read at one sitting." The *Handbook of Irish Folklore—salva reverentia*—is somewhat like that. Whenever you take it up, wherever you open it, you cannot leave it down—as a reviewer must do if he is going to write his review. Nor will you have it read by three; even the three days and three nights of Irish storytelling will not suffice. In fact, it is not a book that can be read at all in the ordinary sense of the word.

The *Handbook of Irish Folklore* is a book of questions, hints, innuendos and implications. To peruse its pages is to wander through a great library where one can only read the titles of books behind glass doors that are locked. There are seven hundred pages in the book and, I am sure, about forty thousand questions; and many of the questions give rise directly to other queries. It is certainly a stimulating, intriguing, exasperating work, for it tantalises with that beginning of information which the question without an answer gives. Take up the book at any place and test yourself in an imaginary " question time," and before you have read seven of the seven hundred pages, you will have retired in disgrace. Yet, this is a book about Ireland and its people; nor is it concerned with erudite or abstruse themes. It is about the most homely and ordinary things in this land where we dwell and whose people we think we know. The truth is that for most of us this handbook of Irish Folklore is a guide-book

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* *A Handbook of Irish Folklore.* By Seán Ó Súilleabháin, Archivist to the Irish Folklore Commission, University College, Dublin, with an Introductory Note by Séamus Ó Duilearga, Honorary Director, Irish Folklore Commission. Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, Ltd., for the Folklore of Ireland Society. 1942. Pp. xxxi + 699. 10s. 6d.

Irish Folk-Tales. Collected by Jeremiah Curtin (1835-1906). Edited with Introduction and Notes by Séamus Ó Duilearga. Dublin: Same Publisher. 1943. Pp. xvi + 166. 6s.

Béaloideas. The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society. Vol. XII. No. 1 and 2. Dublin: Same Publisher.

to a new world. This world is new in a two-fold sense. Much is seen for the first time, but also many familiar things are seen in a new light of interest.

Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's volume is primarily a guide-book for those who are interested in the collection of Irish Folklore in the Irish speaking and English-speaking parts of Ireland. An idea of its range and content is best given by printing here the headings of chapters: Settlement and Dwelling; Livelihood and Household Support; Communications and Trade; The Community; Human Life; Nature; Folk-Medicine; Time; Principles and Rules of Popular Belief and Practice; Mythological Tradition; Historical Tradition; Religious Tradition; Popular Oral Literature; Sports and Pastimes. The matter has been classified in accordance with the most up-to-date and scientific method, that evolved by the Swedish experts. Some modifications have been made to suit Irish needs. The whole work has been done with great thoroughness and the highest competence. One is impressed throughout by the clarity and order which mark every page of this massive book. It has that comprehensiveness and rounded perfection of a great work, intelligently planned and courageously executed by one who is master of the material which he handles.

It has been said already that the *Handbook of Irish Folklore* provokes to thought. In this article I would wish to follow one line suggested by two sentences from the Preface. These are: (1) "All the material catalogued in the Irish Folklore Commission's offices in Dublin since 1935 has been classified in accordance with the Swedish system, and the number of excerpt cards now runs to about 80,000"; and (2) "Every example given throughout these pages exists as an item of tradition in this country. The chief source of these examples is the catalogued portion of the manuscripts in the possession of the Commission, only about one-tenth of which has been excerpted to date." It is typical of Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's quiet scholarship that he should mention almost casually a number like 80,000 and that, before we have recovered from the shock, he should with equal nonchalance ask us to multiply it by ten. Even at a time when a mathematical centenary has hardened us a little, a Commission which deals in such numbers must shock us into taking interest in its doings.

We may go back to the year 1927 and cast first a glance behind. At that time it is hardly untrue to say that the rich mine of Irish oral tradition had scarcely been touched. Indeed a great, if not the greater, portion of the mine had been flooded by the rising waters of English language and influence. And even if the waters could have been pumped out, what was dead could not be brought to life. In the nineteenth century Irish folk tradition could provide a Crofton Croker with an amusing hobby and could serve to tickle the literary palate of the England of the

Georges.[1] Fortunately there were others later for whom Irish folklore meant something more, and their names must be remembered with gratitude—Kennedy, Wilde, Larminie, Lloyd, Pádraig Ó Laoghaire and Jeremiah Curtin, the distinguished Irish-American anthropologist and linguist. The sixteen folk-tales which have been edited by Mr. Ó Duilearga were printed by Curtin in the New York newspaper *The Sun* during the years 1892-93. They make a very attractive volume and form " the only collection of genuine Irish folk-tales in English now available to the general public." Amongst those still happily living whose names must be recorded, pride of place should be given to Dr. Douglas Hyde, the President of Ireland, our debt to whom has been comprehensively expressed by Pádraig Ó Conaire : " Marach thú, a Chraoibhín, ní móide go mbeadh aon Ghaedhilge ghá scríobhadh in Éirinn indiu." This brief review of the work done by individuals may conclude with the names of Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha, Fionán Mac Coluim and Seán Mac Giollarnáth. A more adequate account would include many other names, and particularly those of the obscure and humble *seanchaidhthe* to whose memory and reverence for tradition we owe so much.

In 1927 it was felt that the collection and publication of what remained of Ireland's past should not be left to individual effort. In that year *An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann* (The Folklore of Ireland Society) was founded. Its chief work has been the publication of *Béaloideas*, a journal of Irish Folklore. Twelve volumes have appeared with Mr. Séamus Ó Duilearga as editor. From the beginning this journal has maintained a high standard of excellence. In it has been published a vast amount of matter of special interest to the folklorist and to the student of the Irish language—tales, anecdotes, prayers, *ranns*, proverbs, riddles and songs. The folklore of the English-speaking countryside is also represented, though sparsely ; the work of collecting it has as yet scarcely begun. *Béaloideas* publishes, too, articles of general interest to the scholar and medievalist. To the last number, for example, Mr. Gerard Murphy contributes a most interesting and widely documented discussion of the international *Puzzle of the Thirty Counters ;* and in the same number Professor Sayce of Manchester tackles anew the problem of defining the object and scope of the science of folklore. The Folklore of Ireland Society has also published a number of books including those which we are reviewing here. In 1937 the Society published *Láimhleabhar Béaloideasa*, a handbook in Irish for collectors on the same lines as the book in English (though smaller) and by the same author.

In 1930 the Government made a grant to a committee appointed by the Royal Irish Academy and the Folklore of Ireland Society, and established thereby the Irish Folklore Institute. A Rockefeller Foundation

[1] *Thomas Crofton Croker* by Miss B. G. MacCarthy in *Studies*. Dec. 1943. Pp. 539-556.

grant of £500 supplemented the assistance from the State, and the Institute in the five years of its existence brought together a valuable collection of over 100 MS. volumes.

In 1935 a new step forward was taken, and an important one. The Irish Folklore Commission was set up by the Government for a term of five years. In 1940 the term was extended for another four years, and finally in 1943 two further years were added. An annual grant of £3,250 was given at first. In 1938 this was increased to £4,250—reduced, owing to the war, to £3,650 in 1940.

The Institute and Commission were set up primarily for the collection of Irish folklore. The material thus gathered must be classified and studied, and much of it also published. But the primary task, and an urgent one, was collection. In a great undertaking, planning and method are the first essentials. To Sweden, then, the acknowledged head of the new science, the Irish folklorists looked for guidance. First, Mr. Ó Duilearga in 1928 and later Mr. Ó Súilleabháin and Máire Nic Néill studied in Sweden the most up-to-date methods of collection. From 1930 to the present day the work of gathering the fragments which remain has gone steadily forward. Carefully selected whole-time collectors have worked in the Gaeltacht. The number has varied from time to time; the average number is six. Their labour has been supplemented by part-time workers and many voluntary collaborators. The material collected has been checked and ordered by a small indoor staff with Mr. Ó Duilearga as Honorary Director and Mr. Seán Ó Súilleabháin as archivist. From the beginning the aim of the Commission has been to find suitable collectors and collaborators in every district in the twenty-six and in the six counties.

In 1937-38, with the encouragement of the Department of Education, a collection of folklore was made through the National Schools. As a result of this scheme, 4,574 official note-books were returned to the Commission. This provided a survey of certain aspects of local tradition throughout the twenty-six counties.

The success of this enterprise suggested the possibility of a questionnaire system of collection. Amongst the teachers there were found many who showed a special interest in the work, and with these as a nucleus the Commission has now built up a regular body of some three hundred correspondents. Customs connected with feast-days and the Calendar make particularly suitable subjects for the questionnaire. By this means information has been collected from all parts of Ireland about St. Brigid's Day, St. John's Eve, Garland Sunday, Hallow Eve, St. Martin's Eve. Other subjects have been: the Local Patron Saint, the Last Sheaf Harvest custom, the Smith in tradition, Old-time Country Dress. This scheme has proved highly successful, and it could be much extended if the number of correspondents could be increased. The Commission is particularly

anxious to make contact with helpers in the separated counties. It is unnecessary to say that the Ireland of folklore and folk-tradition is one and indivisible. Máire Nic Néill, writing on *Results and Possibilities of the Questionnaire System* in the Commission's *Seanchas Nodlag*, 1943, does not make an exaggerated claim when she states: "We believe that the material, when studied, will yield valuable contributions to the religious and social history, not of Ireland only but of Western Europe, and will form a source which no serious student in these fields could afford to neglect."

Fortunately the collection of Irish folk-music during the nineteenth century was not neglected to the extent to which folklore in general was neglected. But even in this field much remained to be done; here, too, the Commission did good work, and already in 1937 as many as 1,500 folk-songs were in the Commission's archives. Since 1940 Mr. Liam de Noraidh has gathered 300 folk-songs in Munster and a full-time collector of Irish folk-songs, Mr. Séamus Mac Aonghusa, has joined the staff and has already found in West Galway and in Donegal a rich vein of almost untouched traditional Irish airs.

The investigation of social history and material culture falls within the province of folklore. In Ireland this study is scarcely out of its infancy. It had to yield place to the much more urgent task of saving the traditional literary folklore which, with the death of each *seanchaidhe*, came a step nearer to extinction. But that more than a beginning has been made will be shown by a glance through the pages of *Béaloideas*. Much material for this interesting study has come in incidentally with the collections of local lore. In 1935 two Swedish experts, Dr. Campbell of Uppsala and Mr. Nilsson of Lund, came to Ireland on the invitation of the Irish Folklore Commission to carry out an investigation into the house-types, field-cultures and agricultural implements of the Irish countryside. The fruits of this survey were shown to the public in an exhibition in 1937. The Commission arranged that Mr. Domhnall Ó Cearbhaill, a teacher interested in the traditional crafts of the countryside, should go to Sweden for a period of training. A younger student, who before the war had begun work of this kind with the Commission, has interrupted his work to serve with the National Forces. It is pleasant to be able to record that the visit of the Swedish experts has stimulated us to activity. Interest in this work has awakened in the students of the Faculty of Architecture in University College, Dublin. During the summer of last year students of this department carried out surveys of house-types in Lusk, Co. Dublin and Ardmore, Co. Waterford. It is to be hoped that when circumstances permit the work of investigating our social history and material folklore will be greatly extended. It is a subject of great value and one which is likely to make a popular appeal. The publication of Dr. Estyn Evans' *Irish Heritage: The Landscape, the People and their Work* robs us of our

last excuse for lack of interest or indifference to the value of this side of folklore, if indeed we had any excuse left after the appearance in 1937 of Dr. Conrad Arensberg's *The Irish Countryman.*

This article began as a review of Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's *Handbook of Irish Folklore,* and it has become a review of the work of the Irish Folklore Commission and Institute. There is, however, no inconsequence. Without that background the *Handbook* would be something more impossible than the Cheshire cat.

Behind Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's manual stands the huge collection of material which rests in the archives of the Commission—900 bound volumes, stout and substantial, of 600 pages each. The rich literary tradition of the Gaeltacht, as much of it as remained to our day, has found a safe home. The seanchas and social history remain to be recorded, and the lore of the Galltacht to be saved. The task of classification, study and publication is for the future. The direction of it is in good hands. When better times come we hope that the State will establish this Commission, which has proved itself so well, on a permanent and broader basis, and that it will get more encouragement and assistance from the people whose heritage it has done so much to preserve.

No account of work done for Irish folklore in the last twenty years would be complete which did not pay some special tribute to Séamus Ó Duilearga. Since 1927 he has been Editor of *Béaloideas* and since 1930 Honorary Director of the Irish Folklore Institute and later of the Irish Folklore Commission. He is Lecturer in Irish Folklore in University College, Dublin. An untiring collector and champion of Irish tradition for twenty years he has devoted all his time and energies to one purpose. He has been the driving force behind the organised work which has been described in this article. Without his vision and foresight, the work might have been shapeless and disordered ; without his insistence on the highest standards, it could easily have been slovenly and unscientific ; without his energy and enthusiasm it would never have been accomplished. His deep conviction of the value of Irish folklore and of the urgency of saving it ; his ability to convince others, even those in high places, of the truth of his views ; his real sympathy with and understanding of the material and those who have preserved it ; his persistent advocacy of the cause, in public and private, through the written and by the spoken word ; his ability to win others to work with him in the same spirit ; it is these qualities more than anything else which have surmounted many difficulties and won victory where failure might well have been. Séamus Ó Duilearga himself would be the first to insist that he has been blessed in his colleagues and collaborators. He would agree, too, I think, that the Commission is thrice blessed in having the author of the *Handbook of Irish Folklore* for its archivist.

It was said at the beginning of this study that Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's

book introduces us to a new world. I realise now that I have come to the end without having said anything about that world. Nothing has been said of the content of Irish folk tradition or—what is more important—of its value and significance for us. That must be left over to another time.

But this much I should like to say here. Folklore, the study of the folk-mind and the investigation of the world and ways of ordinary people, is a new science and a comparatively new interest. It is a reaction against the intolerant primacy of letters and the exclusive rights of the intellectual. Folklore is the charter of the liberties and rights of the lowly. In the last century the rationalists, champions of the supremacy of the " intellect," reigned supreme. Now it is different. The bankruptcy of the intellectuals is too apparent to be disguised. Smouldering cities send up their smoke to mock the dreams of those who scorned to build their Brave New World on a foundation of such vulgar things as common decency and common honesty and common sense. To-day the ordinary man, with his own voice and the voice of the past, claims his right to be heard in a matter which concerns him as much as it concerns the intellectual—the making of a decent order in which men may live with some dignity and some security.

That is the significance of folklore and of the newly awakened interest in the culture of simple folk and the traditions of the past. When truth and beauty and goodness cannot be found in modern civilisation, we are forced to seek for those values in other places. The world has obviously taken a wrong turning ; and men in many lands are coming to realize that, if it is to be put right, we must retrace our steps to where we strayed from the road. The decay of past centuries must be excised, and we must graft our life again on to the healthy trunk. This principle of salvation has been most forcibly demonstrated for England in Mr. Arthur Bryant's very remarkable book *English Saga*.

In Ireland, though, thank God, we have preserved our Catholic Faith, in matters of culture and social life we have to a very great extent turned our backs upon the past and have gone drifting with the same tide which has cast other nations to destruction. From the Preface to *English Saga* I borrow the significant words : " The key to a nation's future is in her past. A nation that loses it has no future." At the moment other nations are much concerned about plans for the future. It is time that we bestirred ourselves to look for the key. The search will not be an easy one for us. It will be like the difficult questing beloved of Irish folk-tales. There will be *gruagachs* in plenty, and not a few *péists* to be slain on the way. The magic key for us has been broken and its fragments scattered. But I have no doubt that, with a friendly fairy-guide to lead us, we shall find the largest fragment in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission.

FRANCIS SHAW

CAPITALISM IN TRANSITION

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THE economic life of the world is in perpetual motion. New trends are incessantly developing and the institutions of every age are in a process of continuous replacement. Upheavals of the magnitude of the present war accelerate rather than initiate the readjustments necessary in a dynamic economic system. Among the changes that have been accelerated by the war the reduction in the rate of interest and the increase of direct taxation are among the most significant. These trends are world-wide, but they have progressed further and more rapidly in Great Britain than elsewhere. British war finance has been based upon " cheap money " combined with very high rates of income tax, surtax and death duties. By far the greater part of government borrowing has been achieved at less than 3 per cent, and the present yield on $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent consols is as low as £3 3s. per cent. In the corresponding month in the last war the yield was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.[1] The standard rate of income tax is 10 shillings, and surtax on incomes over £2,000 rises progressively until incomes from £5,000 to £6,000 pay 5 shillings, incomes from £10,000 to £15,000 pay 8s. 3d., and incomes over £20,000 pay 9s. 6d. Income tax and surtax on the largest incomes amount to 19s. 6d. in the pound. It is hard to draw the dividing line between this level of taxation and complete confiscation. Estate duty is also steeply progressive. Estates of £100,000 pay 26 per cent, of £1,000,000, 52 per cent and of over £2,000,000, 65 per cent. It is improbable that these rates will be fully maintained after the war, but it is equally improbable that they will be substantially reduced. Income tax will doubtless be lowered in the interest of providing incentives in business, but it is likely that surtax and death duties will be retained at their present level. High direct taxation has undoubtedly come to stay.

The rate of interest is less controllable by the financial authorities than the level of taxation. It would not be surprising if some rise in interest rates were to take place after the war in view of the great demand for capital for purposes of reconstruction. Every effort will, however, be made to keep this rise within the narrowest possible limits. Modern developments in monetary management subject interest rates to a considerable degree of regulation in countries possessing a developed money market. A measure of control of new capital issues and of the exchanges will certainly be retained for some time after the war. It is likely therefore that low interest rates and high direct taxation may be

[1] Written in December, 1943.

expected to continue in the post-war period. These two features of contemporary economic life indicate that capitalism is undergoing a period of transition if not of decline. If they appear more marked and further advanced in Great Britain than elsewhere, it is because that country has reached the exceptionally mature stage of capitalism which, according to many economists, is the prelude to a more socialized society. To accept this opinion is not necessarily to adopt the Marxian interpretation of history. Marx argued that capitalism would change into socialism because of its failure; some modern economists of the neo-classical school believe that capitalism will decay because of its success. Its very achievements, it is argued, undermine the social institutions which protect it and create conditions in which it will not be able to survive.[1] The two schools of thought differ only in their explanation of the causes of the weakening of capitalism. They are agreed that such a weakening is taking place, that it will develop further, and that it will end in a complete transformation of capitalist institutions.

The conjuncture of low rates of interest with high direct taxation causes the net return on investment to be extremely low. Taxpayers who pay the standard rate of income tax receive, on 2½ per cent consols, a net return of about 1½ per cent and of less than that on the majority of other British Government stocks. Holders of Government securities who pay sur-tax as well as income tax receive a great deal less. A taxpayer, for example, whose total income is £5,000 receives about 16 shillings per cent on his consols. The very rich receive practically nothing. A taxpayer with an income of over £20,000 receives a net return on his consols of about 1s. 6d. per cent. Moreover, when such a taxpayer dies, his estate is reduced by anything up to 65 per cent. His income during his lifetime and the value of his property after his death are both drastically reduced. The capitalist has come to occupy the same position in respect of direct taxation as the brewer or the tobacco manufacturer occupies in respect of customs and excise duties, namely, that of an unpaid tax-gatherer. Accumulation of sufficient capital to live as a rentier has been made increasingly difficult, and the foundation of a rich family of future rentiers has become practically impossible. In the nineteenth century the predominant influence of the great landed proprietors gave way to that of a new race of industrial magnates. A new type of feudalism appeared in place of the old. In the present century the great industrial barons and their dynasties are fighting a losing battle against the tax-collector. Such a defeat cannot but have important consequences on the fortunes, the functions and the outlook of the capitalist class and on the economic structure and mechanism of capitalist society.

Fifty years ago to live on one's capital was regarded as highly evil.

[1] This case is brilliantly presented in Professor Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* reviewed in *Studies*, December 1943, p. 570.

The good Victorian child was taught that to accumulate capital was the arch-virtue, to dissipate it the arch-vice. A different attitude prevails to-day. The richer classes in Great Britain are not only not saving but are living on the savings of their predecessors. Even before the war, the richer classes in Great Britain were maintaining their standard of living by decumulating savings.[1] This practice, which must be even more widespread to-day, is closely related to the low net yield on investments. Let us suppose that a person has been accustomed to a certain standard of comfort and that his income has been wholly or partly "unearned," that is to say derived from property. With the rise in the cost of living and of direct taxation he finds it impossible to maintain his standard except by spending yearly some small fraction of his capital. He sells, let us say, £1,000 consols for which he receives £800. His loss of gross income is £25 a year. Assuming that he is rich enough to pay surtax at a fairly high rate, his net loss of income may be as little as £5 a year. He sacrifices an annual income of £5 for an increase in cash of £800. The multiplier between income and capital is so large that he stands to gain by the transaction in any period in which he can be reasonably expected to take a care. It is true that, if he were eagerly concerned about the financial condition of his successors nearly two hundred years hence, he would hesitate to make the sale. Such concern, however, would betoken a degree of "prospectiveness" in which even the most orthodox classical economist would find it hard to believe. Moreover, long before the period had elapsed, death duties would have made devastating inroads into the capital sum. If there were several devolutions, as there certainly would be in so long a period, the greater part of the capital, and consequently the future income to be derived from it, would have vanished. There is much to be said for having a good meal off a goose that lays tinier and tinier golden eggs—a goose, moreover, that will sooner or later be taken away from its owner.

In conditions such as these regard for the remote future tends to decline. The typical Victorian business man hoped to establish an industrial dynasty. His hopes found expression in the massive ugly mansions built in the nineteenth century designed to last for generations and to accommodate a large family and numerous servants. Very few business men harbour such ambitions to-day. The whole tone and temper of life have changed. Whether the small modern house is the cause or the consequence of the small modern family is one of those problems of causation of the hen and egg variety that defy solution, but there is no doubt that the two are correlated. The large family mansion has disappeared with the large family. Living in flats and hotels has become fashionable. Irresponsibility from domestic cares and ties is valued more than solid comfort and luxurious ostentation. Less

[1] Colin Clake: *National Income and Outlay*, p. 191.

" consumer's capital " is accumulated. An expensive motor car, expressive of mobility and travel, is more sought after than the more sedate surroundings of Victorian achievement. The prestige accorded to mere wealth for its own sake is less than it was. The young people of the present day are disrespectful of the bourgeois standards of their parents. Society is becoming much more egalitarian. Saving is no longer regarded as the supreme virtue. Living on one's capital is no longer considered as the crowning disgrace of a profligate existence.

The fact that the richer classes are maintaining their standard of living by decumulating past savings has a profound significance for the working of the capitalist system. It means that the arguments against high direct taxation of the rich have lost most of their weight. Modern economists of the neo-classical school have accepted the proposition that an equal distribution of income is preferable to an unequal one and, on that assumption, have advocated redistributive schemes of public finance. The limiting factor in such proposals was, until recently, the adverse effect of high taxation on the power and the will to save. This limiting factor is, to a large extent, inoperative to-day. The amount saved in modern times is no longer the result of the voluntary decisions of the rich. It is determined by the accumulation of funds by insurance companies, building societies, and other agencies which mobilize the thrift of the lower and middle classes, and by the impersonal decisions of company directors who withhold a large fraction of the earnings of their undertakings from the shareholders. The importance of saving based upon the building up of company reserves is illustrated by the single example that, in the fifteen years between 1923 and 1938, the British railways spent on capital purposes no less than £453,000,000 derived exclusively from their own earnings. Ultimately, of course, the burden of the saving involved in this huge investment rested on the shoulders of the shareholders in the form of reduced dividends, but the burden was imposed upon them not by their own choice. It was a case of " forced saving."

Other cases of forced saving are not hard to find. The Russian five-year plans and the German rearmament programme involved forced saving on a colossal scale. The whole problem of war finance is to compel the community to save. Taxation, compulsory and voluntary lending, rationing and inflation are all weapons designed to kill spending and thus to force saving. In wartime the amount of saving is the result of deliberate governmental decision. It is unlikely that in the postwar world this vital decision will again be left to the caprice of individuals, even in capitalist countries. It is generally agreed that both chronic and cyclical unemployment are caused, partly, by " over-saving." This is a word that must be very carefully defined. Economic progress and a high standard of living necessitate extensive investment of capital both in

industrial production and in public utilities and amenities. For such investment abundant saving is essential. It is difficult to imagine a condition of " over-saving " in a community that has a proper regard for its own future, provided that whatever is saved is suitably invested. " Over-saving," in the only correct use of the term, takes place when the amount saved is greater than the amount invested with the result that part of the saving runs to waste. Economists are unanimously agreed that it is the duty of the government to take measures to correct such a disequilibrium. Thus there are two quite separate problems to be solved. One is to secure that the proper proportion of the national income is saved, and the other is to ensure that the fraction saved will be invested. The amount saved and the amount invested in a modern society are both capable of being influenced by Government action and are, in fact, largely so determined.

One of the methods used to stimulate investment is to keep the rate of interest at a low level. As long, however, as the amount saved depended upon the unrelated decisions of countless individuals, a lowering of the rate of interest might have had the effect of reducing the amount saved. All the older economic text-books state, as a matter beyond dispute, that interest is the price paid to induce people to save. It is doubtful to what extent this doctrine was ever completely true, but it is certainly not true to-day when the amount of saving is determined by the impersonal decisions of company directors and public authorities. It cannot be argued, therefore, that low interest rates would have a deterrent effect on saving at the present time. On the investment side of the equation, low interest rates are wholly desirable. If investment is undertaken by private entrepreneurs, the margin of profitable investment is extended with every reduction in the rate that has to be paid for loans ; while, if it is undertaken by public authorities, the burden of the corresponding borrowing is mainly determined by the prevailing rate of interest. The advantages of " cheap money " are so manifold that the maintenance of low interest rates will certainly form part of post-war financial policy.

A period of cheap money is not favourable to capitalists. It is particularly unfavourable when direct taxation is as high as it is likely to be after the war. The net return on gilt-edged securities and industrial debentures will be depressingly low. It is not desirable that the return on enterprise involving considerable initiative and risk—such, for example, as the commercial exploitation of new inventions—should be unduly restricted. A generous reward to the more daring pioneers in business amply repays society. Many of our modern comforts and harmless luxuries would not exist but for the enterprise of such pioneers. Risk-taking will still command a reward, but even this reward will suffer from the impact of high and progressive taxation of profits. It is likely, however, that, with the general changes that are taking place in economic life,

entrepreneurs will be satisfied with lower remunerations than those which rewarded successful enterprise in the past. Lord Keynes is probably right in his statement that " the game need not be played for such high stakes as at present ; much lower stakes will serve the purpose equally well as soon as the players are accustomed to them."[1] In any event, whatever stakes are played for and whatever gains are won, the winners will lose a large part of their winnings in death duties. The foundation of the propertied class has been freedom to transmit one's gains to one's heirs. While this freedom theoretically remains intact, much of its virtue has been destroyed by the heavy taxation on the transmission of estates. While the accumulation of a considerable fortune may still be possible for the successful entrepreneur or speculator, only part—in many cases a small part—of such fortunes will reach the next generation. With the growth of public utilities and the widening field of government and municipal investment the amount of risk-bearing capital will become less. More and more capital will be raised bearing a fixed rate of interest and carrying some form of public guarantee. Capital issues of this nature will contain no element of remuneration for riskiness, and the net rate of interest will be extremely small. Saving will not be discouraged on that account. Interest no longer rewards the act of saving which has become impersonal, involuntary and, in some cases, almost automatic. The function of interest in the modern world is to overcome, not the propensity to consume, but the propensity to hold savings in a liquid form. A very low rate of interest may serve this purpose. A " cheap money " policy will keep the rates paid on bank deposits at a very low level in order to reduce to the utmost the attractiveness of holding savings in a liquid form. A very low rate of interest might be sufficient in these circumstances to tempt savers to sacrifice the allurements of liquidity. A sufficient decline in the net return on loans would spell, again to quote Lord Keynes, " the euthanasia of the rentier."

Cheap money greatly facilitates all sorts of public borrowing. Many industries are approaching the stage when there will be a widespread demand for their nationalization. A number of public utilities are unsuitable for private ownership or administration and must necessarily be in the hands of public authorities of one kind or another. Again there is a large field of what may be described as amenity investment—in such things, for example, as parks and swimming baths—that must be undertaken by the State or the municipality. All these types of public investment will be matched by an equivalent amount of public debt. The burden of that debt is lightened when interest rates are low, and it is still further lightened when, in the case of government borrowing, a large fraction of the annual interest charge is recovered in taxation. The net rate paid

[1] Keynes : *Theory of Employment, etc.*, p. 374.

on government borrowing in Great Britain to-day is less than one half the nominal rate quoted on the loans. Incidentally, the process of nationalization is greatly eased when the sums paid in compensation to the owners of the socialized industries are subject to direct taxes on a level that returns a large fraction of the compensation to the Exchequer. Death duties are particularly helpful in this connection. They really convert the compensation payments into terminable annuities.

The extent to which the capitalist has become an unpaid collector of taxes is well illustrated by the problems involved in a capital levy. In the years after the last war proposals for such a levy in Great Britain were considered by the Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation. One reason why the Committee refused to recommend the levy was that it would mean such a heavy loss of revenue to the Exchequer that the net gain would not be worth the administrative expense involved. Lord Stamp calculated in 1923 that a progressive levy of the type advocated by the Labour Party and calculated to cancel £3,000,000,000 of debt would cause a loss of revenue of from £92,000,000 to £100,000,000, and that the net saving to the Exchequer would amount to no more than from £42,000,000 to £50,000,000 a year, or about 7 per cent of the annual budget at the time. In the twenty years since Stamp's estimate interest rates have fallen and direct taxation has been increased and the strength of the argument against a levy has been reinforced. An interesting attempt has been made to estimate what would have been the yield of a levy in 1936 after the 5 per cent war loan had been converted and the new rates of death duties had come into operation.[1] The estimate was made on the basis that the levy would amount to £2,950,000,000, that it would be on the same scale of progression that the Labour Party had proposed before the Colwyn Committee, and that the average rate of interest on the national debt was $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. On those assumptions the gross saving to the Exchequer would have been £97,000,000 a year; but, in order to ascertain the net saving, it would be necessary to deduct £23,000,000 for loss of income tax, £18,000,000 for loss of surtax and £34,000,000 for loss of death duties. The net saving would therefore have amounted to no more than £22,000,000—the equivalent of 4d. in the £ on income tax. The authors of this estimate consider that a levy after the present war would probably be even less favourable to the Exchequer. The rise in money incomes and in the money value of estates will increase the yield of surtax and death duties. Inflation always increases the burden of the progressive elements in a system of taxation. "The net saving," they conclude, "from a capital levy of the type discussed by the Colwyn Committee would be too small to be worth the trouble and expense of valuation and collection. The maximum net saving

[1] *The Taxation of War Wealth* by J. R. Hicks, U. K. Hicks and L. Rostas. Clarendon Press, 1941.

would be very unlikely to exceed the equivalent of 4d. or 5d. on the income tax." The service of the patient beast of burden has become indispensable to his oppressive master. It is cheaper to keep him in frugal comfort than to slay him outright.

Capitalism has entered a phase of transition. The great age of capitalism has passed and advanced industrial countries are becoming more and more socialized—which is by no means synonymous with socialist. The process is a gradual one not marked by spectacular or revolutionary events. Property is being slowly emasculated and its powers of resistance undermined. A new society will replace the Victorian bourgeois society which has to its credit such a remarkable achievement in economic progress. The new society will be more egalitarian than the old. At the one end of the scale there will be less poverty and no pauperism. The Beveridge scheme or some of its variants will effect the conquest of want. At the other end of the scale there will be less luxury and less ostentation. The idle rich will decorate society no longer and the Veblens of the future will find little " conspicuous waste " at which to frown. People will be less forward-looking. Social security will provide against the risks and hazards of life, and the ambition to found wealthy dynasties will no longer be capable of realization. The falling birthrate and the gradual ageing of the population will reduce the importance of the family as a unit in the social structure. Saving, the typical Victorian virtue, will cease to arouse applause. The accumulation of a fortune, the dearest Victorian ambition, will no longer commend respect.

Saving, the accumulation of a fortune, the possession of money—these were the marks and tokens of the successful business man in the age of undiluted capitalism. These were the rewards of successful leadership in a system which, whatever its other defects may have been, did possess the merit of rewarding success and punishing failure swiftly and precisely. What equally efficient method of selection can be devised in the socialized society of the future ? Every country will have to provide its own solution of this problem. Great Britain, the country that perhaps owes most of its capitalists, seems to be, paradoxically, in the best position to replace them. The British governing class possesses a tradition of public service which is very slightly related to pecuniary incentives. Moreover, the British bureaucracy has shown itself equal to the colossal tasks presented by the war. Assuming that the right type of education is provided and that the ladder of promotion is open to talent, whatever its origin, there is no reason to despair of finding successful administrators of the socialized society that is on its way. That it is on its way is certain. Its outline is unmistakable, its advent inevitable. Whether the new society will be " happier " than the old involves a comparison of incommensurables that elude the economic calculus. Whether it will be " better " raises a value judgment of the type that the prudent economist prefers to avoid.

G. O'Brien

THE CINEMA AS A SOCIAL FACTOR

BY B. G. MACCARTHY

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"ONLY the Bible or the Koran have an indisputably larger circulation than that of the latest film from Hollywood." In these words Dr. Viktor Fischl of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education indicates the vast range of the cinema as a social factor. Statistics have established that ten years ago at least twenty millions of people per day went to the cinema. Since that time we may assume that the figure has been multiplied many times. We know that the same film is seen simultaneously or within a short interval all over the world. It is inevitable, therefore, that the cinema must have a marked influence on human life, an influence as varied as man's nature.

An invention can never rise above the aims of those who exploit it. Financial exploitation rests in the hands of business magnates, whose object is pecuniary profit. But pecuniary profit is rarely compatible with philosophic or artistic aims. Therefore it is not surprising that an invention such as cinema-photography should have become not an art but an industry, not a social benefit but a social problem. There are, of course, exceptions to this generalisation—films of aesthetic value, of educational worth. These exceptions show what the future of the film might be. There is a growing spirit of hope that great achievements may spring from a new orientation.

Perhaps one can best estimate the social function of the cinema by considering its repercussions in our own country and by comparing what actually is with what might be. To judge of what might be one must take into account the best trends which may be observed in Europe. With these trends we are almost completely out of touch, since except for an occasional French or German film with English subtitles, except for an occasional English film, we are entirely dependent on Hollywood.

America initially owed her monopoly of the cinema industry to the war of 1914-1918. While Europe made history, America made films. The elimination of the old " silent picture " in favour of the " talkies " confirmed the American monopoly, since the English-speaking world had to confine itself to English-speaking films. England endeavoured to cope with this situation by establishing her own studios and legislating so as to give her own films a chance. Even then England could not compete with any appreciable success. Ireland, for financial and other reasons, could not compete at all.

Ireland has had no money to establish an Irish film studio, and yet every year we export many millions of solid cash for American and, to a far lesser extent, for English films. Last year the number of cinema tickets

purchased in Ireland was twenty-two millions. We pride ourselves on being a Catholic people, a people of independent mind, of a national character which we glory in maintaining. Ours is a heritage of history and tradition which we wish to perpetuate in many forms of art. We have a national language which we are determined to restore no matter at what expenditure of money and energy. Since these are our convictions and our aims, it follows that Hollywood films must be permeated by Christian philosophy, that they must contribute towards our national resurgence by embodying and thus heightening our national consciousness. They must contribute largely to our pressing educational needs and they must be hastening the reestablishment of the Irish language. If the contrary were true, if it could be proved that Hollywood films, so far from helping, had seriously hindered us, then on whom should we put the blame, seeing that for over twenty years we have been in control of our destinies. Since Ireland has no money for slum clearance, since our hospitals are supported by voluntary contributions, since our educational schemes are financially restricted, then surely we should never have permitted a useless expenditure. With our dislike of alien influences we should certainly have resisted a foreign importation which might threaten to undermine all that we most value. Our government (in loco parentis) would not, when we need bread, give us a stone. Let us see the sustenance provided alike in town and country.

It is interesting to consider the average farm labourer, walking five or six miles into Bruff (let us say) to go to the pictures, and then that long way home again in our Irish rain. What has he seen that has the slightest relation to life as he knows it? He has seen night-club queens covered by a few spangles, Chicago gangsters talking a peculiar argot, society playboys babbling airily of Reno divorce. He has seen crooning cowboys, coal-black mammies, typists clad in Schiaparelli models living in luxurious flats, and millionaires living in Babylonian palaces. He is going home to fall into his bed in the loft, to rise next morning and feed the pigs. What does he make of it all? And what do they make of it—those city children who queue-up outside the cinemas, who even beg from passers-by the money with which to buy admission, and who return to the slum room which is all that the State can afford to give them? One may ask what *we* make of it? We cannot believe in it. It is obvious that American films bear the same relationship to America that a newspaper does to human life. Then why do we go? Not because they reflect our philosophy of life—they are at most amoral; not because they are educational—with few exceptions they have nothing to teach; not because they are artistic—they are, on the whole, a negation of art; not because they express our national life—they are mass-production films which we share with the sweating coolie of Shanghai, the Canadian trapper, the people of Brazil, of London, of Japan.

Of the vast number of films which we have seen there remains chiefly an impression of the minds responsible for them—an impression of cynicism, even of low cynicism. It is clear that the generality of films are not intended for intelligent or educated adults. They appear to be beneath the meanest intelligence. For whom then are they intended? To this question a Hollywood film director once replied that they were intended for the working-class American of the Middle West. If the Middle West gratefully absorbs this pabulum, we can only say that, while we are willing to concede that Europe is in its second childhood, we cannot avoid the conclusion that America is still in diapers. One thing is certain: if American film magnates have, in general, provided the poorest fare, it is not merely because they underestimate human intelligence, but because they very accurately estimate human living conditions. They know that, for vast millions, the cinema is the only available place of warmth and comfort; that it is a place for the old to relax in a pleasantly soporific atmosphere; a meeting place for lovers in bad weather; an exciting diversion for children—particularly for children who come from over-crowded homes. Compare the comfort of the average cinema with the comfort of the average theatre; compare the tariffs, and one of the most potent reasons for the popularity of the cinema becomes apparent. Cinema-goers are not deterred by the worthlessness of the film, because they go primarily to rest their feet or their minds, or to get in out of the cold. The cinema is the universal haven. The film is the universal aspirin. "In reducing spiritual emptiness to an international lowest common denominator the film has indeed achieved a very considerable job of work."[1]

But one must not omit to mention another reason for the popularity of the cinema: it fills in time—a sad expression because it indicates an unhappy aimlessness, a morass of mental lethargy. The average film is to the average mind like the custard to the pudding. It arouses no activity. It is simply poured over the inert mass, and scarcely seeps in below the surface layer. Do such films induce mental lethargy or do they merely pander to it? One may suppose that they do both. If films were completely harmless in every other way, they would still be sufficiently injurious in that they reduce people to the level of mere receptivity. Children who, before the advent of the cinema, could entertain each other and invent a thousand games of make-believe, now go to the cinema—to look on. The children of Haworth Parsonage invented a strange game for themselves—the Kingdom of Angria in which they lived, of which they wrote. In Angria was forged the pen that wrote *Wuthering Heights*. Had the Brontës lived now, invention would have been unnecessary. They could have looked on at the equestrian feats of Tom Mix or listened to the ullulations of Bing Crosby. This dependence on mechanical amuse-

[1] Dr. Viktor Fischl: *International Influence of the Film* (an address given at the Conference of the British Film Institute in Exeter, April 1943.

ment, this inability to spin out of our own minds is characteristic of our time. We see it in microcosm, not only in children's craze for the cinema, but even in their multiplicity of toys. Their parents had and needed none of these things, and yet the children of that former period were certainly as happy. It is easier to understand the receptivity of the adult. On the whole, he prefers not to think. Thought has become painful and dangerous in this world poised always between one war and the next. The Roman emperors gave the people bread and circuses. We give them the cinema and the dole. One might ironically claim, as one of the social functions of the cinema, that it drugs the people into dull acceptance.

Claims far more peculiar have been advanced. At a conference of the British Film Institute held at Exeter, in April 1943, some rather unusual views were expressed by Dr. J. McAlister Brew, Education Secretary, National Association of Girls' Clubs (England). Speaking of the preponderating love-interest in films, Dr. Brew says: "I would maintain that it is necessary it should be there. Just as a baby learns to master a physical universe, so in adolescence, when you are learning to control your emotions, you reel and stagger in your emotional world, and need emotional experiences."

The films, therefore, in Dr. Brew's opinion, are of the utmost service in adding to the emotional instability of the adolescent by the provision of vicarious erotic experience. One might indeed question the usefulness of social work divorced alike from sound psychology and from Christian principles. However, Dr. Brew goes on to develop her thesis: "The working girl particularly craves for affection during this period of her life. The working girl is still under the dominance of the male. In ordinary working-class society the girl is always thought less of than the boy, and in her work she is usually under the direction of men. She craves for affection. Affection takes time. The busy mother lavishes a rough and ready affection on her small children, which is quite excellent for them. But it is not quite enough in adolescence. All these demonstrations of affection take time. There is not time in the ordinary lives and in homes suffering from all sorts of war conditions, so she gets her satisfaction at second hand in the cinema."

According, therefore, to Dr. Brew, the cinema takes the place of the mother, the home and the lover. It provides a speeded-up substitute for affection. This we must certainly regard as the most extraordinary achievement of this mechanical age. It leads us on to consider the whole question of vicarious living, of a profitable employment of leisure—the question also of the growing disintegration of family life and of the growing inability to think.

What is the effect of the Hollywood film on the man in the street? It affects his ways of thinking, of living, of speaking. It influences his attitude to home life and to social intercourse. The family circle is now

rarely closed. It might be said to consist of parent-arcs which remain, on the whole, static, while the young people are always off at a tangent. Home has ceased to be the centre of social life. It is a place in which to eat and sleep, but not a place for amusement. That the cinema is only partly responsible for this is quite true, but that it *is* partly responsible cannot well be denied. The cinema nowadays occupies man's leisure to the exclusion of former interests and pursuits. It has brought him some knowledge ; it has deprived him of some hitherto unquestioned convictions. It has affected his standards of aesthetic taste. Despite censorship, it has loosened his moral fibres. It has confirmed the unthinking in their lack of thought, and has filled their lives with a colourful and varied vacuity.

At this point it may be profitable to consider reading in relation to film-going. It appears to be a fact that children nowadays read far less and adults read far more than they used, and it should be useful to ask ourselves whether the cinema has any bearing on this question of reading.

Since written fiction and story films both make the same sort of appeal, it is clear that there must be a close relationship between the extreme popularity of both. But the true value of a good novel is the presentation, through human symbols, of some view of life. Such novels have a philosophic content. We find it, for example, in Dostoevsky's *The Idiot* ; we find it in *Cristinlavransdatter* by Sigrid Undsett ; we find it in Morgan's *Sparkenbroke*. It is often remarked that a good novel does not make a good film. The reason is obvious. The film, as we know it, deals with externals. It takes the press and hurry of human action as the sum total of importance. It spends prodigious sums on elaborate scenery and costumes. It ignores the true theme which the author chose to represent through the medium of human beings involved in a pattern of life. Now, since this externalisation is the main characteristic of the cinema, we may ask how it influences the average film-fan's choice of reading. Naturally it will not influence those people who already have standards of judgment. Those who have no such standards it will confirm in their desire for cheap sensationalism ; and those young people in whom aesthetic choice has yet to be developed are turned from real worth to what is facile and valueless. They will naturally seek in books what has become a habit in the cinema, and they will find it all too easily. This is particularly so, since one may observe not merely a vast increase in worthless fiction, but a distinct effort on the part of some writers to imitate the manner of the cinema. This may be observed not only in novels, but even in biography and in pseudo-historical works. The cinema influences readers and writers alike ; that is to say the undiscriminating of both classes.

That children read less nowadays is to some extent explained by the fact that they spend much of their leisure at the cinema. But there is another cogent reason. Since children see the same films as adults, they have but a lukewarm interest in the sort of reading suitable for their age.

They have not easy access to adult fiction, nor would they have any interest in it. Unsimplified by the film-process, it would be far too difficult for them. The cinema has accustomed them to a progression of vivid scenes, from which they pick the sensational plums without much bothering about the context. Pie-throwing, murderers, funny men, spies and mad professors whose pockets bulge with bombs; burning cities, drinking saloons full of bad Mexicans, gold-miners shooting up the town—this melange has become their chosen diet. They take the thrills at hand and waive the plot. What children's books can provide similar fare? And even if such books were easily available, it would be necessary for the children to visualise imaginatively, and this (in schoolboy phraseology) would be " too much like work ". Here we find an argument against the indiscriminate use of pictorial adjuncts. The visual factor in education is much stressed and is highly valuable, but it has grave disadvantages if misapplied. Visual presentations impede the power of individual aesthetic interpretation, because they stifle the imagination with concrete images.

If younger children do not read much because the cinema has marooned them in a sort of " no-man's land ", the earlier adolescent often finds in films a precocious interest which would lead to an absorption in adult fiction, if such fiction were within reach. It seems very inconsistent that parents who would be perturbed at finding adult fiction in the hands of their children, have not the slightest objection to permitting these same children to see adult films even as often as three times a week. Young people's lack of knowledge and their inexperience fortunately insulate them against some of the more undesirable aspects of the films, but we cannot congratulate ourselves that it is always so, and we do not know in how far experiences scarcely realised at the moment of impact may become potent in later years.

Even while we accept the fact that the cinema is an industry, it still appears strange that only in one country has there been envisaged the possibility of special cinemas for children. Financially such an enterprise could scarcely fail to pay, since we recognise the fact that children are not merely film-goers but film-addicts. Russia is, so far as one can learn, the only country which provides cinemas for children. This is an example which Christian countries are too blind or too indifferent to take. If children's cinemas are not established in the future, then at least admission to the adult cinema should be denied to children under a certain age. This suggestion is not due to any belief in the myth that youthful delinquency is the result of film-going. There were young delinquents long before there were cinemas. A passion for the talkies is merely a symptom of that general aimlessness which underlies the misdemeanours of adolescents. The argument in favour of children's cinemas is based on the simple fact that we cannot treat boys and girls as if they were men and

women, that children have not the same interests as adults, that material must be educationally adapted to their age, and finally that the fantasy of children is not that of their elders. Children's cinemas involve far more than a mere question of censored adult material. It implies material chosen and fashioned especially for children's needs.

Amongst the many ambitious projects for post-war reconstruction is a plan to use the cinema as a means of arriving at a better international understanding. It is reasoned that if people understood each other, they would not hate each other, and if they did not hate each other, there would be no more war. This is one of those facile hypotheses which it is easy to mouth, but impossible to believe. It scarcely seems probable that the cinema will succeed in eradicating original sin. Since a man cannot understand his immediate friends, his own family or even himself, one may be permitted to doubt the possibility of an international understanding fostered by the cinema. Each one of us is a terra incognita surrounded by curious and inexplicable phenomena—our neighbours. So it has always been. So it will ever be. It would, in fact, be a pity if it were otherwise, since life would lose its savour of surprise and art would lose that inexhaustible source of inspiration—the riddle of human behaviour.

It would also be very unfortunate if the cinema could standardise human life by substituting one international pattern for the regional diversity which has always existed. Hollywood has, to some slight extent, done this, and the result has been something approaching international vulgarity. But even if for the crudities and futilities of Hollywood there were substituted films which were artistically perfect and educationally effective, and if these achieved an international unification, it would be a sterile product. Nations draw their life, their ideals from deep native roots. Nobody wants a standardised culture or a standardised international education. As variety of climate produces variety of flora, so it produces and should continue to produce indigenous ways of living and thinking which are embodied in characteristic forms of art. Regionalism is the life of art, and internationalism is its death.

So far we have been considering some known aspects of the cinema as a social factor. This survey is by no means exhaustive, and it has confined itself mainly to effects observable within our own experience. It would hardly have been useful to consider the highest developments of the film in other countries, while ignoring the aspects of the cinema with which we in Ireland are familiar. But Hollywood, after all, is merely Hollywood. We should be grateful that, owing to war conditions, we have recently had such a spate of wretched films that even the most devoted film-goer can endure no more. The time is ripe for a revolution in the cinema. Revolution is an effort to embody an ideal. It has nothing to do with vested interests. So it is that one of the most potent developments of the film world has sprung from private enterprise. The substandard film,

through the experiments of amateurs, has led to the documentary film—which, on the one hand, has brought us such artistic achievements as *Man of Aran* and, on the other, has, through its employment for commercial and social propaganda, developed into the specifically educational film.

The use of films in education has already, for a number of years, been an established fact in many countries. In this enlightened scheme America has most notably lagged behind such countries as Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Ireland is now beginning to follow the example offered even by such small countries as Switzerland and Denmark. The use of films in education opens up a wide vista of social service ranging from educational institutions to the wider public. Religion, civics, public health, language teaching, rural science, domestic economy, crafts, appreciation of music and art—these are but a few of the courses of film-instruction which should contribute to a sounder knowledge of fundamentals and better ways of living. Since the State should benefit by good citizenship, we have the right to expect a state-subsidy for these schemes. An enterprise which promises to be of great social benefit should not be allowed to depend on voluntary subscriptions. It seems reasonable to suppose that the millions which flow out of Ireland to enrich foreign film industries should now be diverted to support native film projects.

But it is not enough that we should keep pace with other countries in the intelligent use of films. We should produce our own. Already there have been serious discussions as to the possibility of establishing an Irish film studio after the war, but the implementation of such a plan depends entirely on financial backing. This project too should be state-aided.

Ireland is a strange country. It revolts only against symbols—not against the ideas behind those symbols. We would die fighting against an invading army, but so far we have made no attempt to resist an invasion of ideas. We have even made no attempt to resist an invasion of tawdry rubbish. Is it too much to hope that, weary of the fetid breath of a sick world, we may find in our own culture our true inspiration and may at last use cinemaphotography for our own social and artistic needs?

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP., D.D., D.LITT.

THE cinema is rather a symptom of a disease that is steadily undermining the social organism than an amenity that usefully serves to relax the strain induced by present-day social conditions. No one, except the industrial magnates who derive immense profits from its exploitation, has reason to rejoice at its rapid growth in popularity.

Thoughtful persons witness that growth with a sinking of the heart and with a feeling something akin to dismay. As one sees the cinema "palaces" and cinema "halls" making their appearance, one after the other in rapid succession, on the sites of ruined or torn-down buildings in town and village, one cannot help thinking of pustules breaking out in a body in which the blood stream has become septic.

It is with justice that the undeniable deterioration in moral standards and in social behaviour since the outbreak of the first World War in 1914 is, to no inconsiderable extent, to be attributed to the cinema. The vast majority of the films that are shown ordinarily suggest, and not infrequently advocate, a view of life at variance with Christian standards. The scenarios as a rule spring from the imagination of persons who are concerned only with a vivid and gripping portrayal of exciting incident and of fervid emotion. The primitive instincts of man, expressing themselves in eroticism and combativeness, are the source of the situations usually presented and are the inspiration of the dialogue or recitative. Passion is considered its own justification. Such self-control as is deemed praiseworthy is demanded on grounds that have no relation to the requirements of Christian conduct. A code of some sort is recognised as controlling behaviour, but that code is not one dictated by the natural or the evangelical law. And these tensions of love and conflict are set out in conditions of luxury and with all the appeal that can be supplied by the exquisite dresses and the handsome faces of the principal characters, men and women. There is an extreme emphasis placed on physical attractiveness and on mobility of feature. Life is shown under an entirely false light. Pure love, family life, conjugal fidelity, humility, meekness, self-denial have no place in this unreal world of the films. It is true that, for vast numbers of those who throng the picture theatres, their ideals of life and their values are not in violent contrast with those conveyed through the screen.

The case is different with those who profess allegiance to the Christian way of living and to Christian values. On such persons, if they are habitués of the pictures, the evil effect is extremely great—and all the more violent for being insidious. Little by little the Christian instincts are blunted. The imagination becomes accustomed to relations between the sexes which are forbidden by the law of God. The situations and the behaviour to which these relations give rise come to be regarded as forming the texture of ordinary existence. Censorship of erotic scenes can but mitigate, it cannot obviate, this evil. What is more, it ought to be realised that there is a harmfulness which censorship cannot control and which is far more subtle than that wrought by the scenes of passionate love. This harmfulness is due to the insidious teaching, by suggestion, of false history. And this history will always be found, when analysed, to work towards the discrediting of the ideals of life established by Christianity. It is not in sex

matters alone that the cinema makes for the gradual undermining of the Christian foundations on which European civilisation rests.

Of course it can be urged that the blame for this attaches not to the cinema itself, but to the usage that has been made of it by those whose only interest is to exploit its industrial possibilities. In itself it is, like most things at men's disposal, indifferent and can be used for good as well as for evil. It is a new and legitimate kind of art. It is remarkable for its highly developed technique. It can bring interesting and instructive experiences within the reach of the humblest and at very little cost. The legitimate theatre is for the rich or the fairly well-to-do, the cinema is for the poor. Such evils as belong to the industry are purely accidental and could be obviated by the provision of suitable films.

This sounds plausible. It is true that much harm could be prevented this way, but an inherent defect cannot be removed. The moving picture, silent or accompanied by sound, militates against thinking. It panders to, and then fosters, intellectual lethargy. It is the product of an age suffering from intellectual anaemia of a pernicious type and tends, not to correct, but to intensify the evil. There is here a vicious circle of cause and effect in which the effect becomes, in its turn, a cause of what produced it. The pictures dispense the audience from even the minimum of mental effort. They induce a passive condition of mind. Visual representation is substituted for thinking. The power of abstraction, necessary for dealing intelligently with life's problems, is gradually lowered and finally destroyed. Emotion and feeling, as opposed to reasoning and deliberate decision, come to dominate as the motive force in action.

A mind that has been already trained and disciplined will necessarily resist this deterioration. All such a mind will suffer is a certain temporary drugging effect. On an educated person a film of an hour's length or more will have much the same effect as a mental narcotic. But for the young and adolescent, who are as yet unformed mentally, mental growth is seriously jeopardised by the constant frequentation of the " pictures ". It is for psychological reasons that the use of films for educational and instructional purposes need not be too much encouraged. Their advantage in the sphere of education and industry has been greatly exaggerated. Experiments carried out in the United States have shown that the slide, the stereograph, the still picture, and the ordinary diagram are far more effective aids in the teacher's work than the motion-picture. The rapid succession and the consequent rapid effacing of visual impressions over-stimulates and then tires the imagination. The mental activity of the pupil is lowered. This is a positive disadvantage, for the measure of acquisition is proportional to the positive effort of the learner. The representation of motion or action is the proper field of the educational film.

E. LEEN, C.S.SP.

NO. 2.—BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM MAGENNIS, D.LITT., K.C.S.S.

Member of Seanad Éireann

Chairman of the Censorship Board

THE Cinema, in its portentous range of influence, is already become a sinister rival of the Universal Church. It knows no God but Mammon; its ideology is a degraded paganism. Its baleful glamour compels its devotees—called "fans"—to unlearn whatever lessons of the Ancient Wisdom they had learned at home or in school; and to cast off the trammels of the Old Morality as of an out-worn instrument of priest-craft delusion and Capitalist exploitation of the virtuous poor.

Is this jeremiad against "Hollywood" well-based? Or is it the delerium of zealots and reactionary cranks, puritanic hot-gospellers who distrust and dread whatever of new achieves popularity among the masses?

Miss MacCarthy assuredly is neither zealot nor puritan in her estimate of the Cinema as a social factor. But here and there lurk symptoms of a reactionist hostility to the Cinema as we know it—say in Dublin, Cork, and our larger towns. She does not reprobate with the sweeping condemnation of a bigot: there are, she concedes, "exceptions to the generalisation" that it is "not a social benefit, but a social problem"—there *do* exist "films of aesthetic value and of educational worth." By this very reservation (wise though it is, and simple justice too) stands betrayed what I take the liberty of calling her peculiar myopia.

The Cinema as we know it—I used that formula just now advisedly—is not quite a Temple of Belial, as it might have been but for the vigilance and foresight of certain men in our twenty-six county State in its earliest years. The Legislature at the outset of its career hastened to create a code and to set up a system of Censorship: the code of Customs—exacting indeed, in its imposts—and the State Censorship combined gave such control over films in the licensing of them for public show as could sterilize the exhibited and cast out the unmentionables and with them the unmendables. The general public will never know what incalculably valuable service they received from their first Censor, the late Mr. James Montgomery, co-operating with the first Appeal Board in the fixation of right standards of film propriety. The battle against the film-producers' and film-renters' aggressive tactics to subdue our film exhibitions to their will, exalting "box-office appeal" over the Sermon on the Mount, was fiercely fought throughout the Twenties; and it, *Deo gratias*, was won. The present-day State Censor, Dr. Hayes, maintains the tradition bequeathed to him by his predecessor and mentor; hence Southern Ireland's film-shows, tho' they may be occasionally dull, rarely serve as blatant propaganda for 'high' living and its attendant vices.

Miss MacCarthy seems unaware of this strenuous campaign, for she makes no reference to it. On the contrary, she uses language which might

be interpreted as accusing two Irish Governments of inertia and laissez-faire in regard to the Hollywood invasion. For example, after inveighing against the un-Irish nature of the foreign productions, she continues thus : " If . . . it could be proved that Hollywood films, so far from helping, had seriously hindered us, *then on whom should we put the blame, seeing that for over twenty years we have been* in control of our destinies : . . . With our dislike of alien influences we should certainly have resisted a foreign importation which might threaten to undermine all that we most value." The retort to this putting of " the blame on " the two Governments —Mr. Cosgrave held office ten years, and Mr. de Valera's term now exceeds ten years—is that they have met unclean soul-destroying stuff with unswerving resistance. Not all " that we most value ", it is true, has been protected from menace. But would Miss MacCarthy demand the total exclusion of all films by Order until such time as Irish-made films are forthcoming ? Hollywood's influence is a denationalizing influence ; so too is the Radio listening-in box. Would she demand of Government a Hitleresque ukase against Radio also ?

It is in this connection that I allege Myopia in Miss MacCarthy's vision of the Cinema as a social factor. Tho' she sees much that is undeniably there and deals ably with what she sees, she fails to perceive the obvious. The picture-film arose and exists to provide entertainment for the people at large, the common people. Its *primary* purpose is to provide attractive entertainment, and to provide it at a moderate cost to all and sundry—especially at low prices of admission to the poorest, for the populace (as they are invidiously styled) require amusement in leisure no less than millionaires. Perhaps it is because Dr. MacCarthy is so keenly alive to the vast potentialities of the film-and-projector apparatus as an instrument in Education that she developed a blind spot for the fact that the public Cinema's function is mass-entertainment ; it is not meant to displace the High School and the University, usurping their proper function. The social function of the picture-house and the specific work of higher educational institutions both make an impact on the national *Kultur* ; but that fact does not justify a demand for insisting that the " pictures " should disregard entertainment value in the interests of learning, any more than the plain fact that they do entertain countless thousands entitles producers to flout the decencies of Life and debauch insidiously the untutored mind.

Is it misinterpretation of the article to read from it a complaint that the Irish Government has not set on foot an Irish film industry ? Miss MacCarthy's desideratum—and it is mine also—is the production in Ireland of films for the delectation of Irish audiences, marked by fidelity to the Irish philosophy of life and by freedom from all that debases the standards of clean living. But such an industry is rendered possible only by investments on a scale commensurate with those of the Shannon

Electricity Board. In a B.B.C. broadcast six years ago Mr. Alfred Hitchcock, the English Director of film production, revealed that " it takes a lot of brains and a lot of money to make even a bad picture. . . . *It is very hard to get a good average English film to-day under forty or fifty thousand pounds.*"

It would exceed my allotment of one thousand words to relate the story of my efforts to persuade our Department of Education to adopt the policy of installing a film projector in the primary school as an aid to the teacher, at a time when it was possible to secure the best type of sub-standard film projector instruments on highly favourable terms from the manufacturers. I must perforce content myself with saying how heartily I concur in Dr. MacCarthy's views on the school value of the sub-standard film. The sole exception I make is to this erroneous piece of history: " *So far we have made no* attempt to resist an invasion of ideas."

WILLIAM MAGENNIS

NO. 3.—BY BRIGID REDMOND, M.A., H.DIP. IN ED.

County Librarian for Wicklow

Hon. Secretary, National Film Institute of Ireland

ANY informed and constructive examination of the Cinema as a social factor must not only admit the power of this instrument but also understand its distinction as a medium of expression entirely different from any other. To condemn the Cinema merely because its power is derived from mechanical invention is futile. The printing press and radio are mechanical inventions, both of which are daily affecting human thought and human endeavour in every direction. Already, during the few decades of its existence, film utilised by creative minds has proved a medium of expression more powerful and far-reaching than any other form of dramatic art. Any attempt to estimate the social influence of this medium must recognise the capacity of the medium, the technical perfection to which it has been brought, and its immense potentialities.

If the power of the Film is to be understood, it must be dissociated from every other medium of expression. " It has no connection with literature nor is it able to express it, for the film-maker tells his story with images only—moving images aided by sound." The art of the Film is definitely not that of the novelist or the playwright. It has more affinities with the art of the painter and the musician than with any other art. The understanding of pictorial composition and rhythm enter largely into film-making. Therefore, any judgment of the merits of the Film based upon comparison of the film-version of a novel or play with the work from which it is adapted is mistaken. The media, treatment and objectives of the novelist and playwright are entirely different from those of the film-maker. Films adapted from novels and plays are inferior productions, because they distort the medium from its proper use. The

blame for this rests, not with the medium, but with the mind of the maker. Commercial exploiters of the film have no other use for this beautiful instrument except that of making money; so, successful stage-plays and successful novels, which already enjoy widespread publicity guaranteeing sure box-office receipts, are frequently used as screen material.

The tremendous suggestive power of the Cinema, its penetrative force and vivid dramatic appeal to the emotions, make it an instrument equally potential for good or for evil. In this country, the Cinema as we see it is the Cinema which we are allowed to see by a few international film combines, whose sole criterion of merit is cash returns. The aim of the mass-produced, mass-marketed films is essentially emotional stimulation, presenting wrong values, false emotions and unreal glamour. While the adult mind can use his critical faculties to discount the illusions of reality given by the Film, children and adolescents are most susceptible to the fascination of repetitive, varied and vivid impressions offered by the screen. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the social effects of commercially controlled cinemas has been the subject of investigation by social welfare organisations and by government bodies in almost every civilised country during the past twenty years.

Recognising the power of the Film for good or ill, most European countries took legal measures to control this new force in national life. In film-producing countries, the home industry was given protection and facilities for expansion abroad; in non-producing countries, legitimate national interests were protected against the influences of other countries. One result of such policy in other countries has been the production of films which, because they are consummate expressions of national genius, deriving character and power from native well-springs, have achieved international renown. State-promoted research was undertaken to discover the educative value of the Film in the widest sense of the word, due regard being had to the scope and power of the Film, not only as an instrument of visual education but also as a means of entertainment in the public cinema, where the Film has its greatest social and cultural influence—notably on children and adolescents. These countries established organisations for the development of the Film as an educational and cultural instrument. The U.S.A was one of the first countries which undertook the promotion of the use of educational and cultural films.

In this country there are signs that we are at last awakening to a realisation of the social problems raised by the Cinema, especially with regard to youth. This is evidenced by the number of local authorities who are examining the conditions under which they may issue cinema licences. Recently the General Council of County Councils passed the following resolution previously passed by a number of local bodies :—" That the Regulations issued under the Cinematograph Act 1909, under which the Council is called on to consider the Cinema Licences from time to time,

are not in accordance with public needs and should be amended." The School Attendance Committees of the Dublin Corporation have also this question under consideration.

The vital need for the formation of a representative body to deal constructively with the Cinema question and to encourage cinematography in national, social and educational interests, has been recognised by the recently formed National Film Institute of Ireland. This recently formed association is actively concerned with the many complex problems raised by the Cinema, where standards of taste and conduct are fundamentally different from those which are in accordance with Irish tradition and the Irish way of living. To choose the Films we import for entertainment and for educational purposes; to encourage native film-production for the expression and interpretation of national life and tradition; to help the spread of the Irish Language—these are some of the main objectives of the National Film Institute. In pursuance of the policy to demonstrate the constructive use of the Film, the Institute is building up a Library of Films on Health and kindred topics, designed to illustrate and aid the efforts of social welfare agencies. Film programmes on such subjects, supplemented by appropriate lectures, have been successfully shown on behalf of the Anti-Tuberculosis Committee, and already a keen popular interest has been aroused in this particular use of the Film. A special section of Educational Films is being formed, intended to provide programmes graded according to age-groups and level of attainment, including films of Irish life, industries, crafts, dramatic interest, travel and nature study, technical processes, religion.

An Advisory Council, including representatives of teaching bodies, medical bodies, public authorities and public cinema interests, has been formed for the purpose of considering problems affecting children and the Cinema and for formulating concrete proposals for the constructive use of the Cinema in national and cultural interests. B. REDMOND

NO. 4.—BY REV. JOHN HAYES, C.C.

Chairman, National Executive Committee, Muintir na Tire

MONSIGNOR Ryan of Queen's University, Belfast, in a recent series of articles in *The Standard* on Education, told us that the introduction of universal education in the last century was hailed as a charter of liberty, culture, peace and prosperity. "To-day," he adds, "the expectation is far from being realised." We know, to our cost, that none of these has been realised. We know how the step forward was a step backward. Almighty commercialism stepped in and liberty, culture, peace and prosperity stepped out. What is true of universal education is much more true of the Cinema. A wonderful step forward has been converted into a step backward.

The Cinema had many advantages over the universal reading and

writing. It had a universal language in living action. It brought the whole world to the local town. Opportunities given only to the favoured few had become the property of all. A better understanding of other nations and other customs could have been established. Education could have been made easy and enjoyable. The highest ideals could have been made to live; but the contrary has been the result, and the worst features of humanity have got the greatest publicity. I need scarcely mention some of these aspects so commonly portrayed. The sanctity of marriage and the home was violated in an atmosphere that created sympathy with the violator. The highwayman became a popular hero. The chief objective was no longer the screen but the box-office takings. Commercialism had captured the Cinema as the " yellow " Press had captured education, and what should have been a boon became a danger to morals and culture. The Cinema is not alone in this abuse of the gifts of science. We conquered space with the aeroplane, and to-day we drop death from its wings. We conquered space and time with the radio, and we are grateful to-day when only jazz music is the biggest burden we have to bear. Thus the gifts that have come to humanity from human genius have been made instruments of destruction and retrogression.

I happened to be in a small Irish town recently. It was a beautiful spring day, and I met a large number of young men, women and children literally pouring out from the matinée at the cinema. On the opposite side, on a dead wall, I saw advertisements demanding that the farmers should sow more wheat—evidently to feed those young men and women. They, however, seemed to have no idea of their own responsibility. The sun had come out after a long absence, and they sought refuge from it in a darkened hall. I believe that not one of them had an intelligent interest in going into that hall. They just wanted dope and they got it. The advertisement by the cinema-doors showed glamorous ladies and glamorous scenes, and I am sure the reactions were not beneficial when the onlookers returned to their own very ordinary homes.

There was a large number of children in that crowd. Whatever about the adults, the atmosphere in every sense of the word was not suitable for children. It is time, I believe, that children were excluded from what we now accept as the ordinary picture. Even the dead hand of commercialism will not miss their few coppers. I have seen children roar with laughter in a picture-house at scenes which, in my young days, I would have thought sinful. Perhaps the rising generation are more theologically correct, but I prefer the extra clean outlook of former days. I look around this country and I see all the efforts that are being made, by various organisations, to bring back and to retain Christian and Gaelic ideals, and I feel it is all in vain whilst the Cinema goes lightly along ignoring these ideals and often degrading them.

The Cinema has a great power, and it should be a power for good.

I know it is a foolish policy just to denounce. We have denounced so many things in this country that we have a reaction against the denouncers and the denouncements. Positive action should be our reply. If we have won freedom for this country at the price of blood, surely we ought to have freedom to safeguard the morals and culture of our people. Positive action by the State, positive action by the Church and positive action by parents can make the Cinema a power of real good.

Believing then in positive action, I want to tell you what Muintir na Tire has been doing for the past year as regards the Cinema. I know the effort is very small, but a rivulet flowing in the right way is better than a great river flowing the wrong way. Early last year the National Executive of Muintir na Tire set out to form a Cinema Co-operative Society. They then purchased two projectors, 16 m.m. and talking. The idea was to put these cinemas on the road and to show clean, healthy and educational pictures—especially for the rural people. Travelling presented a difficulty right away during the emergency. Owing to the lack of petrol, a gas-producer van had to take the road. Unfortunately, a gas-producer van cannot always be counted upon to do what you hope it will do. For this reason, after a year's experience, they have now decided to put horse vans on the road. They carry their own lighting set, so that they can show pictures in the most isolated places. The Society have now as their own property some excellent pictures, including some very interesting ones made by themselves. I will give you just an example of one of the performances at which I happened to be present in a country school. The first picture was Bernadette—a beautiful description of the life of that Saint and the story of Lourdes and its miracles. The next picture, lasting for nearly an hour, illustrated modern methods of farming. Then followed some of the home-made films describing the Rural Week and the Summer School of Agriculture in Pallaskenry. Then, for three-quarters of an hour, there was simple but laughter-provoking recreation. The people went out from this little country school having learned something of practical interest to them in their everyday lives, having got the ideals of religion put before them and, yet, to finish all with laughter on their lips.

It has required a good deal of courage for this venture. There are many difficulties, but where there's a will there's a way and these difficulties can be overcome. The difficulties of transport can be overcome—perhaps not as well as might be desired. The difficulty of finance is the greatest. To fit out these two Film Units has cost over £2,000. Most of it is borrowed money. If it were a money-making venture, I am sure that plenty of capital would be available. It is, however, primarily a moral, educational and clean entertainment venture, and we can only hope that there are still people in Ireland to whom these ideals appeal. These Film Units on the road will more than pay their way, so that even the idea of what is called sound commercial sense need not be abandoned. But if Muintir na Tire is to achieve its full purpose, it needs aid.

I know that all this is scarcely a reply to the difficulties I have mentioned in the beginning of this article, but I do say it is positive action. It is using the Cinema for high ideals. It is using the Cinema as an educational medium, and it is using the Cinema to give clean, healthy recreation. If God prospers our effort, we hope to have many cars on the road carrying those Christian and Irish ideals into many Irish parishes.

Another step that could be made now would be to establish Cinemas in many of our villages under the control of a public body such as Muintir na Tire. It would be a decided advantage to get there first and to ensure that, at least in the villages of Ireland, the Cinema will be a power of good.

JOHN HAYES

NO. 5.—BY JOHN BITHREY, M.A.

Late Inspector of Secondary Schools, Department of Education

IN these comments, which the Editor has asked me to write, I shall deal with the following :—(1) The film based on the novel ; (2) The use of the film for the purposes of education. The Editor asks me to refer, in particular, to the *Jane Eyre* film. This I shall do, though my only qualifications are that I have read the book recently and have seen the film twice.

I thought the film a beautiful one, beautifully produced and acted. Joan Fontaine's performance was a most moving piece of work, and the smaller part of Bessie was delightfully played by our own Sara Allgood. I was startled, therefore, to read Miss McCarthy's statement that a good novel seldom makes a good film. It seemed so untrue of *Jane Eyre*. But on closer scrutiny I found that Miss McCarthy was exactly right, and I admired her great insight ; for she goes on to say that the film generally ignores the theme of the book, and this is exactly what the *Jane Eyre* film does. The Jane of the film lacks the spiritual and religious make-up, the certainty of supernatural conviction, the strength of supernatural motive which give her, in the book, her almost supernatural stature.

The true theme of the book is the steadfastness with which this sorely tempted girl stands firm to the teaching of her religion and indeed all but lays down her life for it. When she was rescued by Mr. Rivers, she was in the very article of death from exposure and hunger. Here was an orphan child, who had never really known father or mother and whose only memories were those of a cruel aunt, an unhappy school-life and a brutal clerical School Director. Yet such was her grip of first principles, so well grounded was she in her Biblical and Christian teaching, so deeply influenced was she by the saintly life and death of her little school friend, Helen Burns, that she faces death rather than be false to her religious convictions. This is the Jane of the book ; but it is not the Jane of the film. In the film this tremendous spiritual drama is all but ignored—presumably because these spiritual conflicts, these dramas in states of

mind are outside of the film's range; because the film deals, almost necessarily, with more external and corporeal things.

I come now to the use of the film for purposes of education, and I think a word of warning is needed here. Such a use of the film seems to me to be: (1) undesirable on general educational principles; (2) impracticable as well as undesirable in the existing conditions of our Secondary Schools.

It is undesirable on general principles, because it runs counter to the accepted doctrine that there can be no real education without vigorous, personal effort. To sit back, in a congregational attitude of repose, and merely watch and listen is not education. The student must find a North-West Passage for himself. He must bend his energies to ding-dong, honest-to-goodness hard work. He must find something out on his own. This will be the real beginning. It will be the first real thrill, and it will be the real spur to further effort. The tendency of the film will be, I fear, to weaken, if not undermine, this habit of private study. Some years ago a leading French professor, lamenting the decline in standard shown by the work of candidates for the *doctorat*, the *agrégation* and the *licence*, traced the causes back to the Secondary School, the pupils of which (he said) had lost the habit of private study. In the evening, instead of doing their homework, they went to the pictures. More recently still another leading Frenchman called on teachers to impress on their pupils the importance of serious private study. *L'information n'est pas l'éducation*, he said. *Ce n'est pas le divertissement qu'il nous faut. La lecture, assidue et réflechie, est le meilleur moyen de former l'esprit. Le livre est le plus sûr véhicule de la pensée créatrice, l'instrument par excellence de toute culture spirituelle, intellectuelle, morale et physique.* That is sound doctrine based on long experience. Nothing worth while can be achieved in education without real, solid, sterling, personal toil; and the use of the film seems to me to run counter to this accepted principle.

Moreover, in the existing conditions of our Secondary Schools it is neither practicable nor desirable. It is not practicable, because the programmes are already fully laden and the introduction of a new subject is certain to upset the equilibrium of a nicely poised mechanism now working smoothly. It is undesirable, because, in my judgment, it would prove a menace to the excellent results now issuing from the time-honoured curricula and the time-tested teaching methods of our Schools. For what are our Secondary Schools doing for their pupils? Many things: for example, they give them a love of poetry—"one of the sure signs of an educated mind, one of the most precious things a boy can take away with him from school," as Field-Marshal Wavell impressed on the boys of his old school, Winchester, on the eve of his departure for India. For poetry gives us the entry to that better world which is all around us, if only our eyes have been opened to see its beauty and our ears trained

and tuned to catch its music. To bring this heavenly vision to birth in the mind of even one pupil is the triumph of what Plato would call the teacher's maieutic skill ; it is a miracle which he performs not by anything he does or says, but by something he is. But this is not all.

The Secondary Schools teach many other things. They teach the importance of personal research ; the importance of subconscious cerebration—that faculty by which the mind goes on biting into a problem until the problem yields up its secret ; the importance of good sense and good manners—almost the whole of education ; the importance of international standards—so many of our people go abroad, and for those who stay at home the menace of foreign competition is becoming daily so deadly ; the importance of finding out what special gift God has given us and of developing that—we are not all meant to be good at everything ; but we are all meant to be good at something. Again, our schools teach the doctrine that if a student leaves school without any great examination successes, but with a strong character, a habit of prayer, a habit of work according to a fixed time table, a love of reading, and a hunger and thirst for knowledge, he is well equipped for life. Finally—and this is perhaps specially true of those who are fortunate enough to follow the Latin, Greek and English courses of study—there is the formation of mind that comes from the reading of the great authors. This formation is not easy to describe ; but it shows itself in various ways and is unmistakable when we meet it. To it belongs a certain inward happiness that comes from the secure possession of a spiritual treasure. To it belongs a philosophy of life that comes from contact with the great characters of literature. It shows itself in the broader human sympathy of which Terence spoke when he said : *Homo sum ; nihil humani a me alienum esse puto*. It shows itself in a certain feeling for language and in a certain power of creative speech and of creative writing. You will know the man also by his old world courtesy, his scholarship, his ideas. You will find in him a living proof of the doctrine that literature is the nurse of noble natures.

These are the results aimed at and in great part achieved by our Secondary Schools under existing conditions, and I am opposed to the film because it tends to jeopardise them. It will tend, I fear, to turn our schools from laboratories of austere intellectual endeavour into mere picture houses. I agree, of course, that films can be occasionally useful for entertainment (a very different thing from education)—as a matter of fact, most of our big schools have film projectors for this purpose. It is not to this I object, but to the use of the film as an integral and essential part of daily school routine. For this, in my judgment, is what it will tend to become, if it is once introduced into the classroom.

I think we should be well satisfied with the student produced by our Secondary Schools. I know him well, and I admire him. I have no wish at all to tamper with the educational machinery that produces him. He is

mbitious and industrious. Sometimes, indeed, he is even too eager to ass his examinations and fit himself for the business of life. He is well ble to look after himself. He knows the value of money, yet he is capable f the most generous self-sacrifice in a noble cause. He has a keen sense of ght and wrong. He runs his own games, his own musical and dramatic ub, his own social service or Vincent de Paul Society; he probably oes a little soldiering (his sister—and everything I say of him I say of er—will be a Guide), a little road-making, perhaps a little tillage or arvesting. I see no harm in his going to the pictures on his half-holiday. he has an impish tendency to practical jokes or is fond of me rough horse-play, perhaps, after all, there is something in what r. Brew says—though Miss McCarthy does not agree with her—about tting rid of these tendencies, as it were, vicariously. Does not Aristotle ach that the function of tragedy is to excite pity and fear and thus to fect the *katharsis* or cleansing of these emotions?

In conclusion, I want to say how much I admire Miss McCarthy's ticle. It is a very able article, as indeed was only to be expected from the riter of that brilliant play *The Whip Hand*. Her description of the typical ollywood film—for example, "the Schiaparelli-clad typists lounging in uxurious flats", and this is only one deft touch out of many—is superb.

I have spoken a word of warning on educational films, this is not because liss MacCarthy needs it. She is, I am sure, a sound traditionalist. It is st her plea for the educational film be misinterpreted by the enthusiastic at inexperienced amateur who is such a menace. Her plea for films ore in harmony with our Christian philosophy of life, more in harmony ith our national ideals, is a most eloquent one. It will stir a chord in very Irish heart.

JOHN BITHREY

NO. 6.—BY RICHARD S. DEVANE, S.J.

N the "New Year Special" of the *Kinematograph Weekly* (13 January 944) the following figures and facts about cinemas in Éire are given :—

There are 48 decent halls in Dublin and the suburbs out of Éire's 240 Kinemas, d these 48 are split up under the control of Louis Elliman, 13; the Farrels, 7; ddy Whelan, 6; Maurice Baum, 5; and Leonard Ging, 4. . . . The great man the Trade in Éire—the Great Mogul, but of course a very pleasant Mogul and a p-top showman—is Louis Elliman. He is not exactly the whole Trade in Ireland, t he is a very big part of it. He controls, either directly or through directorships, e Theatre Royal, the Savoy, the Metropole, the Queen's, the Corinthian, the heatre de Luxe, the Phibsboro'. All these are in Dublin. In the country Louis liman has the Savoy (Limerick), the Savoy (Cork), the Ritz (Clonmel), the Ritz thlone), the Ritz (Carlow).

Louis Elliman, who is also representative for British Lion, holds strong views out censorship. The only way to deal with it is on tough lines, he says. He has tle sympathy with those who make excuses for it. The only way for the Trade to il it is to attack it vigorously and mercilessly. That, of course, is a personal view one of the most important men in Industry in Éire.

E

These are interesting and illuminating words. They need no comment; their significance and implications will be evident to the reader. The number of cinemas in Éire is given as 240. In Northern Ireland there are about 110. This market is altogether too small to warrant large-scale production in Ireland. Even Britain, with her protective legislation, her large number of cinemas and her immense resources, finds such production extremely difficult; and she has not yet been able to invade the U.S.A.

But with the examples of Norway, Denmark and Finland before us (as I pointed out in a series of articles in the *Irish Times*), with their small populations and small number of cinemas—much akin to our own conditions—we should be quite able to enter on small-scale production. For this there is necessary (1) government encouragement and adequate legislation, (2) a financial group stimulated by protective legislation and with probably, in the beginning, some form of government guarantee against unforeseen loss.

If there were money to be made in film-production under present conditions, we should have had home-made films long ago. To produce films which cannot be rented or will not be exhibited is futile. A *market should be created in advance by legislation* requiring all cinemas to show home-made shorts and documentaries, thus giving an invaluable stimulus to producers and laying the foundation for greater and more ambitious production.

But above all there is need, as in the small Scandinavian countries mentioned above, of a central organization of prominent citizens to educate public opinion and to create that national film-conscious attitude of mind which will be necessary before any real development of native film-production can take place. Of course there is always the possibility of an alien invasion, and the Government must make provision against such happening. The protective arm of the Government in matters relating to films should be a *Central Film Institute*, state-aided and with representatives of the principal Ministries as members to act in a consultative capacity and to formulate the film requirements of their respective Departments.

Many times and in many journals I have advocated the establishment of such an Institute, which would be a national clearing-house and a co-ordinating body in the development of the film in our national life. Having waited and hoped for government action for years, a small group of persons keenly interested in the film here, in the face of many difficulties unnecessary to mention, have founded the National Film Institute of Ireland. Though not twelve months in existence, this Institute has built up a film-library at the cost of some hundreds of pounds, has linked up with the Anti-Tuberculosis section of the Red Cross Society, has loaned or exhibited films in many centres in the country, has established a film-production unit, and has founded affiliated branches in several towns.

It is, with its limited resources, engaged in an organized campaign of adult education and good citizenship. It has an office and staff at 29 Dame Street, Dublin.

I heartily endorse Dr. B. G. MacCarthy's view: "Since the State should benefit by good citizenship, we have a right to expect a state-subsidy for these schemes. An enterprise which promises to be of great social benefit should not be allowed to depend on voluntary subscriptions." Indeed this whole scheme of a National Film Institute came into actuality through the generosity of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin who, when presented with a report of initial efforts and successes, gave £250 as the nucleus of a fund to build up a film library. In these initial efforts Father John Redmond, C.C., the Chairman of the Institute, played an important part. With a donation of £100 from him, the office was equipped with furniture and a magnificent set of film apparatus of various kinds. The Institute has some excellent projectors—sound, silent and daylight.

The foundation has been laid of a national organization to promote films in the work of education and post-war reconstruction. After many years of seemingly useless effort and groping in the darkness, the day is at last about to break—and not through eastern windows only, when daylight comes, comes in the light. We are, I am convinced, about to see considerable film-development in the near future; and the fact that Great Britain and Northern Ireland are about to move forward, too, will be an added and imperative stimulus to our efforts.

RICHARD S. DEVANE

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part IX

KIRWAN, EDWARD, journalist. Son of Mark Kirwan, wine merchant of Bordeaux. At the height of the Revolution in France, Edward was imprisoned for a time as a result of his royalist activities. Later he became editor of a local journal " Le Spectateur," in which he was officially declared by the municipality to have vilified the constituted authorities and to be corrupting public opinion by taunting the magistrates, calumniating Republicans and inciting citizens to threaten the lives of their fellow-citizens. He was not, however, brought to trial on the charges—a later entry from the minister of police in the municipal archives states that he was believed to have emigrated. His brothers, Andrew and Francis, were also noted for their royalist activities—on 2 May 1797 the local archives record the holding of an inquiry into the reasons why they left for Ireland.

The Kirwans, a Galway family, were settled at Bordeaux since the early part of the eighteenth century. Mark Kirwan was a wine merchant there in 1739, while his son and namesake is recorded among the noblesse of the city in 1789. There was much inter-marriage between them and the MacCarthys, O'Byrnes and other Irish families of the French city—in December 1751 Richard Darcy of Galway, a nephew of the illustrious Count Patrick Darcy, is recorded as marrying there a daughter of Mark Kirwan. The diocesan archives of Galway contain a number of letters from various members of the family in Bordeaux during the eighteenth century addressed to their relatives at home. Though the family in the male line is extinct in the French city, there still exists in its neighbourhood a Château Kirwan, which is among the sixty classed châteaux of the Medoc. (In the neighbourhood of Bordeaux there are many other châteaux of Irish origin—*e.g.*, Château Barton, Château Dillon, Château La Roche-O'Byrne, Château Lynch-Moussas, Château Lynch-Bages, Château MacCarthy, &c).

Several members of this old Galway family had also settled at Nantes. For the year 1739 a M. Kirwan is registered among its merchants, while Dr. James Kirwan, " physician of the king," is entered in its municipal archives in 1756 as practising his profession there for twenty years. And a family document gives an account of the vicissitudes of Ambrose Kirwan of Galway, who in 1743 embarked from Cork for Bordeaux and, after residing there for some time, proceeded to Nantes where he failed in business. Much reduced in circumstances for lack of livelihood, he was

imprisoned for debt; but an Irish officer, Thomas Betagh, induced him, on the terms of paying his debts and procuring his release, to enlist in the FitzJames regiment in the French service. In the year 1746 he embarked from Ostend on board the "Bourbon" for Scotland to assist Prince Charles Edward. On the way he was captured by an English ship and imprisoned. Some years later it was found that he became, by his father's death, entitled to a considerable estate in Co. Galway, but his right of inheritance was barred by the Act which declared all persons enlisting in the service of the kings of France guilty of high treason. The disability was, however, removed by a grant of the English king, George III.

KIRWAN, FRANCIS, ecclesiastic. Born at Galway in 1589. Son of Matthew Kirwan and Juliana Lynch. He received his continental education at Lisbon and in 1614 returned to Ireland, where he was ordained a priest. In the following year he went to France to pursue a further course of studies, joined the Congregation of the Oratory in that country, and in 1618 was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Dieppe. After some time he again returned to Ireland with a commission as vicar-general from Florence Conroy, archbishop of Tuam, who was then residing at Louvain. In 1638 he once more went to France where, after arriving at Dieppe, he proceeded to Rouen, thence to Rennes and Caen, and in the latter town resided for several years. He finally settled at Paris, where he became an intimate friend of Vincent de Paul and where, it is said, he did not escape abuse from some Irish students whom he vainly tried to organise for a mission to their own country.

In May 1645 Dr. Kirwan was consecrated bishop of Killala at the church of Saint Lazare in the French capital. Thirteen bishops, fifteen abbots and thirty doctors of the Sorbonne assisted at the ceremony. Returning to Ireland, he joined Rinuccini against the Ormond party and took part in the last struggles of the Irish party in Connacht and in the abortive negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine. His patriotic activities compelled him to become a fugitive, and in 1655 he retired to France and at Nantes lived for some time on the generosity and kindness of French benefactors. Noted for his ascetic life, he died at Rennes on 27 August 1661 from an infectious fever contracted during his missionary work, and was buried with much pomp in the Jesuit church of that city. (He had been allowed to enrol himself in the Society of Jesus when he was at the point of death). A life of him, "Pii antistitis Icon . . . . ," was published at St. Malo in 1669 by his relative Dr. John Lynch. It has an English translation by Rev. C. P. Meehan.

KIRWAN, RICHARD, soldier. (Known in Irish tradition as "Risteárd buidhe a' claidhimh" and "Nineteen-duel Dick"). Born in 1708, he

was the son of Patrick Kirwan of Cregg, Co. Galway, and Mary Martin of Dangan in the same county. He was an uncle of Richard Kirwan the famous chemist and geologist. At an early age he was sent to France for his education and, at the conclusion of his studies, entered Dillon's regiment of the Irish Brigade as a cadet. His fame as a swordsman and duellist spread throughout France, where he was a particular favourite of his countryman, Lord Clare, and of Marshal Saxe. He took part in the battle of Fontenoy and gained much renown by his prowess and valour there. He was six feet, four inches high. A watch, set round with diamonds and pearls, presented to him by Louis XV, is still in possession of the Kirwan family. He became so notorious as a duellist that he was compelled to leave France. He then entered the Austrian service, from which he retired in 1751 and returned to Ireland. On his arrival a song in Irish, entitled " The Champion of France," was composed in his honour. He married Maria, daughter of Nicholas Birmingham of Garrencoil (now Barberfort), Co. Galway, of the family of Lord Athenry. He died at Woodfield, Co. Galway, in March 1779. Charitable and of a serene and amiable disposition, innumerable stories of his military prowess at home and abroad were long told after his death. His eldest son Martin, born in 1761, was educated at Louvain. A noted duellist like his father, he too entered the Irish Brigade, but returned home at the period of the Revolution. George, an elder brother of Richard, was killed by Captain Jolley in a duel in France.

LACY. *See* DE LACY.

LALLY, MICHAEL, soldier. Born on 1 July 1714 at Ballyveck, Tuam, Co. Galway, he was the son of Michael Lally and Helen O'Carroll. He went to France, entered Dillon's regiment in 1734 and, ten years later, was rated Captain in his uncle's (Lally's) regiment. As such he fought at Fontenoy, soon after which he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and later to that of brigadier-general. Having seen much service on European battlefields, he accompanied his cousin, General Count Thomas Lally, to India where he was his constant companion during the many vicissitudes of a strenuous campaign. Returning to France in 1762, he died at Rouen in 1773.

His father was one of the five sons of Thomas Lally or O'Mullaly, chief of Tullynadala, Co. Galway, by the Hon. Jane Dillon, sister of Theobald, 7th Lord Viscount Dillon. All five sons entered the French service after the confiscation of the family estates at the end of the Jacobite war in Ireland in 1691.

LALLY, THOMAS ARTHUR COUNT, soldier. Cousin of preceding and son of Sir Gerard Lally of Tullynadala, Co. Galway (who left Ireland in 1691)

nd Anne Marie de Bressac, belonging to a French aristocratic family f Dauphiné. At Romans in that province he was born on 13 January 702. At the age of seven, in accordance with a custom of the time, he eceived a commission in Dillon's regiment, and a year later his father rought him to his own camp at Gerona in order that " he might smell unpowder as soon as possible." Apart from this Spartan training he vent through the usual college education, during which he mastered nost of the living languages of Europe. The Regent of France wished o appoint him a colonel at the age of eighteen, but the proposal was pposed by his father, who wished that he should gain advancement nly by his own intrinsic abilities

Lally's first campaign was in the war of the Polish Succession, and n 1733 he showed at the siege of Kehl not only a good knowledge of nilitary tactics but that personal valour for which he afterwards became enowned. At Dettingen in 1743, where he saved his father's life, he listinguished himself by rallying the army and saving it in its retreat. He won much renown at the battle of Fontenoy, and the great victory here is generally recognised by military historians as due in considerable neasure to his foresight and skill as a strategist. " The battle was hopelessly ost," writes Michelet, " had not the Irishman Lally, full of hatred against he English, made a proposal to employ four pieces of cannon to break he Anglo-Dutch column." And a further display of military genius it Lauffelt, two years later, pointed to him as one of the future great enerals of the French nation.

A zealous Jacobite, Lally gave effective aid to Prince Charles Edward n the preparations for the '45 in Scotland. Voltaire, who describes him is " the soul of the proposed expedition," writes of " the zeal, courage nd audacity that fit him for the most serious undertakings." Even fter the defeat at Culloden he continued for many years forming new plans for a Stuart restoration, and he clung loyally to the Prince through ll vicissitudes. In 1756 General Lally, whose valour, military talents nd honesty of character were by then universally recognised, received he appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the expedition to India, which had as its object the establishment of French domination in that country. After brilliant military successes and a big effort to end the corruption that was rampart among the officials of the French East India Company, he was captured by the English forces in January 1761. Brought a prisoner to England, he obtained permission to return to France to meet the accusations of a host of enemies which his efforts to reform abuses in India had raised up against him. Charged with unwarrantable exactions and abuse of the high authority vested in him, he was brought before the Parliament of Paris. After a mock trial he was sentenced to death, and on 9 May 1766 he was beheaded at the Place de Grève.

On the day following his execution his cousin, the Countess Mary

Dillon, eldest sister of the archbishop of Narbonne, sent Captain Drumgoole, an Irish Brigade officer, to the Jesuit college in Paris to inform the future Marquis Lally-Tollendal (*see* following) of his father's death. The boy, then but fifteen years old, went to live with the Countess at the Château of Saint Germain-en-Laye, and in her will she left him all her possessions and arranged that he should have the reversion of the apartment in the château, which was the one given to her father by Louis XIV when he arrived at Saint Germain with James II one hundred years before. Young Lally at once set about rehabilitating his father's memory. No sooner indeed had the latter been executed than a reaction in his favour set in, and it was soon generally recognised that he had been victimised to save others. Louis XVI established a commission to enquire impartially into the case, and in due time this body reported that the decree of the Parliament of Paris was a travesty of justice. The decree was later solemnly reversed.

Lally's character was a complex one. Rash, impulsive and domineering, he was a brave, chivalrous man of high honour. His uncompromising honesty brought him many unscrupulous enemies, whose malevolence and intrigues finally encompassed his tragic end.

LALLY, TROPHIME GERARD (usually known as MARQUIS DE LALLY TOLLENDAL), statesman and peer of France. Son of General Count Thomas Lally (*see* preceding) and Félicité, daughter of John Crofton of Longford, he was born in the parish of St. Sauveur in Paris on 10 March 1751. After leaving the College d'Harcourt, where he was educated, he set out to re-establish his father's reputation. He was successful, with the help of Voltaire, in getting a reversal of the judgment of the Parliament of Paris. Early in 1789 he was elected to the States General as deputy of the noblesse of Paris and, while a strong royalist and in favour of a constitutional monarchy, he became a passionate reformer. Famous for his eloquence, he was regarded at this time as the greatest orator in France. On the day after the fall of the Bastille he calmed the excited populace in a famous speech at the Hôtel de Ville and, on the subsequent days, acted as mediator between the people and the king. In October 1789, however, when Louis XVI was brought in mock triumph from Versailles to Paris, Lally Tollendal left France in disgust, but returned in 1792 with a hope to assist his majesty to escape beyond the frontier. Almost immediately after his arrival he was arrested, but his friends obtained his release on the eve of the prison massacres in September.

Lally then took refuge in England and, on the trial of Louis XVI, wrote to the National Convention offering his services for the dangerous task of defending his majesty. He was not favoured with a reply, to the disappointment of some royalists, who believed that his great power as an emotional orator might have saved the king's life. He returned to

France in 1800 and resided at Bordeaux till 1805, when he came to Paris to tender his homage to the Pope, who had come to the French capital for the crowning of Napoleon. Remaining in private life till the Bourbon restoration, he was appointed Privy Councillor and Minister of Public Instruction as well as peer of France in 1815, while in the following year he was elected a member of the Academy. During his later years he devoted himself largely to philanthropic work, especially to that of prison reform. On 11 March 1830 he died from a stroke of apoplexy.

In his lifetime Lally Tollendal was particularly interested in the activities of the Irish College at Paris. Towards the end of 1789, when France was threatened with bankruptcy, patriotic gifts began to pour into the treasury from all sides. The priests and students of the Irish College offered their plate and church ornaments to the nation, and Lally Tollendal was the bearer of the gift of his countrymen. And twenty years later when the college, after the troubles of the Revolution, was re-established by Napoleon, he assisted in placing it on a firm foundation. In the Archives Nationales (MS. H3. 2561) there is a long memorandum from his pen entitled " Notes confidentielles sur l'administration des collèges irlandais, anglais et écossais," in which he refers to the interest which his father and grandfather had always taken in the Irish college.

Known as the " royalist democrat," he was regarded as one of the able and enlightened statesmen of the years of the Revolution, which he tried to guide along the path of constitutional reform. A street—the Rue Lally Tollendal—in the Polish quarter of Paris is named in his honour. He married Elizabeth Wedderburn, by whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth Félicité. She married the Count d'Aux. Their son died in destitute circumstances in Soho (London) in 1921, and with his death this line of the family became extinct. Lally Tollendal himself was the last male heir of the senior branch of the Lallys of Tullinadaly and, during his lifetime, kept up his affiliations with his kinsmen in Co. Galway. Shortly before his death he presented his cousin, Thomas Lally of Tuam, with the genealogy and many heirlooms of the family. With the death of the latter's cousin, Thomas Lally, in October 1838 in poor circumstances at Tuam the last representative of the famous family of Tullinadaly passed away.

Lally Tollendal was a voluminous writer, and among his published works are: (1) " Mémoires et plaidoyers . . . (pour le mémorial du Général Thomas Comte de Lally, son père) " (1779). (2) " Mémoire apologétique de Lally Tollendal " (1789). (3) Rapport sur le gouvernement qui convient à la France " (1789). (4) " Quintus Capitolinus an X Romains " (1790). (5) " Plaidoyer pour Louis XVI " (1793). (6) " Essai sur la vie de T. Wentworth, comte de Strafford " (1795). (7) " Défense des Emigrés francais " (1797). (8) " Déclaration de M. Lally Tollendal demandée par M. Ferris, administrateur-général " (1814). In addition

to the above he read in 1824 at the French Academy an unpublished tragedy in five acts, entitled " Tuathal-Teamar, ou la restauration de la monarchie en Irlande."

LATTIN, PATRICK, soldier and author. Son of George Lattin and Catherine O'Ferrall, he came of an old Catholic family settled at Morristown-Lattin, Co. Kildare, where he was born in 1762. After completing his education at the College Henri Quatre in Paris and at the university of Turin, he entered Dillon's regiment in the French service and in that corps became aide-de-camp to his cousin, General Theobald Dillon. (*See* DILLON, THEOBALD). He was at Lille in April 1792 when the latter was assassinated by his troops, after which he resigned his commission and returned to Ireland. Before leaving France, however, he assisted Colonel Arthur Dillon in clearing their relative's memory from the charge of treason and in getting an indemnity from the government for his children. He resided at his ancestral home in Ireland for some years till Lord Cloncurry, who was his intimate friend, obtained from Marshal Berthier Napoleon's permission for him to return to Paris. Cloncurry describes him as " one of a race now extinct, a genuine Irishman in heart and purpose, whose service in France as an officer of the Irish Brigade had added the polish and gallantry of a French gentleman." A man of high intellectual power, he was a brilliant wit in whose presence, it was said, Sheil was silent and Curran dumb. Lady Morgan in her " Memoirs " describes a visit she paid him at his residence in Kildare. " He carried us off ' vi et armis,' " she writes, " in his old French calèche with his old French horses and his French cook driving us. He comes yearly from his house in the Chaussée d'Antin to his old seat in the Bog of Allen. What a transit ! "

Lattin translated Voltaire's " Henriade " into English verse and was the author of several polemical pamphlets. One of these, in support of the Catholic claims, brought a reply from the notorious Patrick Duigenan. It was the subject of an action in which Duigenan was mulcted for heavy damages. Lattin died at Paris in 1839. One of his brothers was an officer in the Austrian army, while a sister married in 1768 the Marquis Delavie, President of the Parliament of Bordeaux.

LAWLESS, NICHOLAS (1ST LORD CLONCURRY). Son of Robert Lawless of High Street, Dublin, where he was born on 30 October 1733. Being a Catholic and accordingly compelled to acquire his education abroad, he was sent to Rouen as a boy for that purpose. He returned to Ireland in 1755 after some years in the university of the French city, whose mediaeval beauty had enchanted him while there. Soon after his arrival home the splendid manor of Château Galleville in the vicinity of Rouen was advertised for sale. Having acquired it, he at once established himself there. In the transaction he neglected to purchase the seigneurial rights

connected with the estate and, on account of this oversight, experienced after some time much annoyance and trouble. The neighbouring gentry regarded him as an upstart and intruder, while all the criminals convicted of capital offences were executed under the windows of his château. Another incident, too, added to his annoyances. One day at Mass in Rouen the curé of the cathedral gave the honours of the censer to a neighbouring seigneur before bestowing them on Lawless, who resented the priority. After ten years' residence there he sold his estate in 1767, and with his wife, Mary Browne of the family of Lord Kenmare, left France. Nettled, it was said, at the religious partiality shown towards his titled neighbours by the French, he conformed to Protestantism on his return to Ireland! Engaging in trade and banking, he was created a baronet in 1776, was elevated to the peerage later and died on 29 August 1799. His son, Valentine Lawless, 2nd Lord Cloncurry, was a United Irishman and became a zealous champion of Catholic emancipation.

Sir Patrick Lawless, soldier and famous diplomatist, was a kinsman of the Cloncurry family. Born in Co. Dublin, he was the son of Colonel Walter Lawless of Kilkenny. After the capitulation of Limerick in 1691 he went to France, where he resided for some years at Saint Germain-en-Laye as gentleman of the bedchamber to James II and later to James III, who sent him to act as his envoy at the court of Philip V at Madrid. In 1713 the Spanish monarch appointed him as his ambassador to London and subsequently accredited him in the same capacity at the court of Louis XIV.

Lawless, William, medical professor and soldier. Born at Dublin on 20 April 1772. A prominent United Irishman and intimate friend of Lord Edward FitzGerald, he was professor of anatomy in the Dublin College of Surgeons in 1798 when, to avoid arrest, he escaped to France. In that country he entered the army and in 1803 was appointed captain in the Irish Legion. In July 1806 he was ordered, at the head of an Irish battalion, to proceed to Flushing, which was then besieged by the English. On his arrival he found the town entirely surrounded by the enemy, but with much gallantry he made his way through their fleet in a small open boat. Later he was dangerously wounded, but fought on till most of his men were killed or wounded. The French forces having surrendered without any stipulation for their Irish allies, Lawless concealed himself for some time in a doctor's house and eventually escaped to Antwerp, bringing with him the Eagle of his regiment. Marshal Bernadotte welcomed him at Antwerp, where he showed him high marks of esteem for his gallant defence of Flushing. The Marshal reported his escape to Napoleon, who summoned the Irish officer to Paris, decorated him with the Legion of Honour and promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In the subsequent Napoleonic campaign Lawless distinguished himself by his valour. In 1812 he became a colonel, and on the 21 August 1813 at the town of Lowenberg he had his leg shot off by a cannon ball in the presence of Napoleon. The limb was amputated by the great French surgeon Baron Larrey. Promoted to the rank of General of Brigade, he retired from active service to his country house at Tours. He died at Paris on the 25 December 1824 and was buried at Père-La-Chaise. He was, with other Irish Catholic officers in France, among the signatories in 1814 to a memorial to the French government protesting against the proposed transfer of the funds of the Irish College at Paris to the college of Maynooth. His fellow-officer Myles Byrne describes him as " the most agreeable, kind and companionable man possible, highly educated, well versed in almost every branch of science and speaking French and English fluently." The poet Thomas Moore, with whom he was acquainted, writes of him as " of that mild and quiet exterior which is usually found to accompany the most determined spirit."

His nephew Luke Lawless was also in the French service, in which he held the rank of captain in the Irish Legion. He went through the various Napoleonic campaigns, and in 1812 and 1813 was on the staff of Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre. On the restoration of the Bourbons he was, like many other Irish officers, compelled to leave France. Bred to the law in Ireland before he became a French officer, he had a successful career at the American bar and became a judge at Saint Louis.

LEE, ANDREW (ANDRÉ, MARQUIS DE LEE), soldier. Born in 1650, he left Ireland in 1671 to join as an ensign the Irish regiment raised by Count George Hamilton for the French service. (*See* HAMILTON, GEORGE). With that corps he fought under Marshal Turenne in the campaigns of 1673 and 1674 in Germany and Holland. On the arrival in France of the first detachment of the Irish Brigade in 1690 during the Jacobite war in Ireland, he was appointed colonel of the regiment of O'Brien ; and in the following year, on the landing in Brittany of the main body of the Irish army after the Jacobite collapse in Ireland, he was selected by order of the French court to act as inspector-general. In 1691 the regiment of O'Brien became that of Clare, and Daniel O'Brien, 4th Viscount Clare, became its commander. In July 1693 a large part of the Irish Brigade was with the French forces under Catinat at the battle of Marsaglia, where the soldiers of the Brigade, charging with fixed bayonets and clubbed muskets, lost heavily. Lord Clare was killed, his brother Charles O'Brien was seriously wounded, and James de Lacy (father of the future Russian marshal) was among the slain. Lee escaped the slaughter of his countrymen and succeeded Lord Clare as full colonel of the regiment. In 1694 he was appointed commander of the regiment of Justin MacCarthy (Lord Mountcashel) on the death of the latter in that year, and served with it through

the Italian campaign. Later he fought in all the great battles of the War of the Spanish Succession—Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. At the siege of Lille, which followed the battle of Oudenarde in 1708 and lasted three months, he headed most of the sorties against the besiegers. His valour and efficiency deserved, it is said, a marshal's staff, and he would have obtained one if he had been versed in the intrigues of court. He was, however, rewarded by Louis XIV with the Cordon Rouge and the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Louis. A great soldier who battled for France during more than half a century in all the campaigns of the time, Lee died on the 16 February 1734 in his eighty-fourth year. He was married to Rose Magennis (daughter of Arthur Magennis, Vicomte d'Iveagh), who was a lady-of-honour at the court of James II at Saint Germain-en-Laye.

Lee, John, ecclesiastic. He belonged to the Waterford merchant family of his name which carried on active business relations with France. Owing to the religious persecutions during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Father Lee with a small band of Irish students went to Paris in 1578 to obtain the education denied them at home. There was as yet no Irish college in the French capital, and the students were admitted into the Collège de Montaigu, an institution attached to the University of Paris. After some time they left—probably owing to financial difficulties—and were admitted into the Collège de Navarre. Father Lee became attached to the church of St. Severin, devoting part of his time to the needs of his students. After some time, when fresh arrivals from Ireland increased their numbers, they formed themselves into a community which became the nucleus of the future Irish College. Through the benevolence of a distinguished Frenchman, the Baron de l'Escalopier, president of the Parliament of Paris, a seminary was established early in the seventeenth century of which Father Lee was the first rector. In his old age he requested the distinguished Irish ecclesiastic Dr. Dease to take his place and continue his work. (*See* Dease, Thomas). The latter succeeded him in 1620 as rector of the newly founded institution. The State Papers Dom. Eliz. (Addenda Vol. 24, no. 41), contain directions for an English spy in Paris in 1601 with probable references to Father Lee: "There is one Leigh (? Lee) an Irishman there (in Paris), but speaks English well and naturally. It is thought him to be a dangerous man, but what intelligence he gives I cannot certifye you, but all English in Paris are affeard of him and will not converse with him nor use his company."

Lewins, Edward John, attorney and United Irish envoy. Born at Dublin in 1756. Educated in France for the priesthood, he abandoned his ecclesiastical studies, on finding he had no vocation, and became an attorney. At the ecclesiastical seminary he formed a life-long friendship

with a fellow-student—the abbé de Frayssinous, bishop of Hermopolis, who on the return of the Bourbons became Minister of Public Instruction under Charles X. In the early years of the Revolution Lewins obtained a post under the French government in the Diplomatic Committee of the National Convention. He came to Ireland in 1793, as is disclosed in a secret report of his to the French government on the state of his native country. In April 1797 he was appointed envoy in Paris of the United Irish organisation with the object of renewing the negotiations with the French government, which were begun in the previous year by Lord Edward FitzGerald and Arthur O'Connor, for an armed invasion of Ireland. On the way to the French capital he remained for two months at Hamburg, where he carried on negotiations with a Spanish naval officer and where he had interviews with Reinhard, the French minister in that city. Soon afterwards he met Wolfe Tone and Hoche, and plans were discussed for a Dutch invasion of Ireland under Admiral de Winter which was to be aided by a French force from Brest. In July 1797 Lewins proceeded to Paris, where he and Tone (who had become intimate friends) toiled unceasingly to obtain aid from the Directory for their country and where they had interviews with Napoleon, Talleyrand, Barras and others. During this period, as intercepted letters in the English Public Record Office disclose, the pseudo-patriot Samuel Turner, acting as an English spy at Hamburg, was creating discord among the Irish exiles in that city and in France by spreading calumnious reports about Tone and Lewins. After the outbreak of the Insurrection in Ireland in May 1798 Lewins and Tone pressed on the Directory the urgency of sending immediate aid to their compatriots. Their efforts only partially succeeded ; a number of small isolated expeditions were, after considerable delay, dispatched to different parts of the Irish coast. These arrived too late to render any effective aid to the insurgents. The last direct activities of Lewins in the cause of his country were efforts to prevent the Union between Britain and Ireland. He appealed to the French government, in its own interests, to oppose the proposed scheme which, he declared, would result in an enormous increase of power to its traditional enemy.

In the reign of Charles X, Lewins, through the influence of his friend the abbé de Frayssinous, who was then Minister of Public Instruction, was appointed Inspector of Studies in the University of Paris, and in this post he showed much kindness to all the Irish exiles in Paris. He died on the 11 February 1828 and was buried in Père-La-Chaise. His funeral was attended by the members of the university and all his compatriots in Paris. He had two sons, the elder of whom, Laurence, was a professor at the College Stanislas and later chef de division in the Ministry of Public Instruction ; the younger, Hippolite, was educated at the seminary of Saint Sulpice and became a priest. The sons gallicised their surname to " de Luynes."

Lewins was a man of high integrity and unblemished character—Lecky describes him as distinguished by " real capacity, disinterestedness and sincerity." In various French archives there are memoirs by him in connection with his mission written under the name of Thompson. In the " Archives de la Marine " (Tome IV), a description of Ireland in 1796 by him (" Quelques Reflexions sur l'Irlande ") gives a singularly vivid picture of the country at the time.

LUTTRELL, SIMON, soldier. Eldest son of Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellstown, Co. Dublin, and brother of the notorious Henry Luttrell. He was in the French army when the Jacobite war broke out in Ireland, whereupon he returned home and became colonel of a regiment of dragoons in the Irish forces. A devoted Jacobite, he was Governor of Dublin at the time of King James's entry into the city and was a member of the Parliament of 1689. When the Irish party which was opposed to Tyrconnel sent a deputation in 1690 to James II in France, Colonel Luttrell was one of its members. He accompanied the French Fleet that arrived too late in 1691 to help the Jacobite forces. Attainted in 1691 he returned to France, where he was appointed colonel of the Queen's regiment of infantry. In the French army he distinguished himself in the Italian campaign of 1696 under Marshal Catinat and, later in Spain, under the Duke of Vendome. He died on 6 September 1698 and was buried in the chapel of the Irish College at Paris, where a marble slab to his memory praises him for his virtuous character. Unlike his brother Henry, he was a man of high integrity who forfeited all his estates in the cause of James II. In 1672 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Newcomen of Sutton, Co. Dublin, by whom he left no issue.

LYNCH, ISIDORE, soldier. Son of Isidore Lynch of Lynch Grove, Co. Galway, and Judith Meade. Born on 7 June 1755, he was educated at the college of Louis-le-Grand in Paris. During the war of 1770 in India he was taken in his fifteenth year to that country by one of his maternal uncles, a colonel-commandant of Clare's Irish regiment in the French service. In the American War of Independence he fought with the French expeditionary force under Count d'Estaing and distinguished himself for his singular bravery. At the most critical moment of the siege of Savannah, Count d'Estaing, who was at the head of the right of one of the columns, commanded Lynch to carry an urgent order to the third column on the left. The columns were within grapeshot of the English entrenchments, and fierce firing was proceeding from both sides. Instead of passing through the centre or in the rear of the columns, Lynch rode through the front. In vain d'Estaing and others shouted to him to take another direction. He went on, however, executed his order and returned by the same way. Asked by d'Estaing why he took a path in which he was almost certain to be killed, he replied : " Because it was the shortest."

Returning to France in 1783, Lynch was appointed colonel of the second regiment of Walsh in the Irish Brigade and was decorated with the Cross of Saint Louis. Though all his relatives in France were strong royalists at the period of the Revolution, he took service in the army of the Republic and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. As such he commanded a corps of infantry at the battle of Valmy in 1792. A year later, on the anniversary of that battle, he was suspended as a suspect, like many other officers of the old regime, and was imprisoned at Dijon until the fall of Robespierre. Soon afterwards, on being appointed to a command in La Vendée, he declared that his religious convictions prevented him from fighting against the royalist-catholic insurgents of that province, and he retired into private life. In 1800, when inspectors of army reviews were created, he was appointed to one of the new posts, the duties of which he filled at Tours with distinction for fifteen years. Retiring on pension after the restoration of the Bourbons, he spent the evening of his days in literary occupations, his favourite authors being Corneille and Bourdaloue. He died on 4 August 1841.

A kinsman, Dominick Lynch, lieutenant-colonel in Lally's regiment, had also a distinguished career in the French service. After accompanying Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, he was on his return to France mortally wounded at the battle of Lauffelt in 1747, and was buried in the church of St. Antony of Padua at Louvain. The inscription on the monument over his grave runs: *Hic, ut voluit, jacet Praenobilis Dominus Dominicus Lynch, ex Nobili Lyncaeorum Galviensi Familia . . .*

Lynch, John, ecclesiastic and historian. Born at Galway in 1599. He was educated at the Irish College of Rouen in France and afterwards at the Sorbonne. After his ordination as a priest he returned to Ireland, where he was appointed archdeacon of Tuam. The persecutions of the Cromwellian regime compelled him to leave Ireland in 1652, though he had favoured the Ormond faction and opposed Rinuccini. Returning to France he resided at Saint Malo, where a considerable number of the family of his name had settled. He died in that town in 1673, though some believe that the place of his death was Paris. He was learned in the Irish language and in literature generally, and was author of the following works: *Cambrensis Eversus* (Saint Omer 1662); Epistle to M. Boileau, historian of the University of Paris, on the subject of Scottish antiquities; *Alithinologia . . .* (Saint Omer 1664); and *Pii Antistitis Icon . . .* (Saint Malo 1669). A rare manuscript, entitled *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, of which he is the author, deals with the lives of Irish bishops. The original is in the Mazarin library at Paris, and there are only two known copies, one of which is in the Bodleian library and the other in that of Trinity College, Dublin.

Richard Hayes

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

BY JOSEPH O'NEILL, M.A.

Late Secretary of the Department of Education

SINCE the problem of feeding populations as far as possible on the produce of the home farms has become such a matter of urgency in recent years, questions of Agricultural Education have come to the fore in most countries, including our own; and it may be worth while to examine the manner in which the problems of giving such educations have been handled by our neighbours and our rivals in foreign markets.

In this connection the main questions that arise are: (1) The State Department that should control Agricultural Education; (2) The proportion of the Education Budget that should be assigned to it; (3) The age at which such education should be begun or the nature of the training.

I

As regards the question as to the State Department which should have control of Agricultural Education, it is interesting to find that the practice has varied considerably during the present century. Before the last war the general practice seems to have been to assign to the Ministry of Public Instruction only schools which gave a general education, with the result that, during the first quarter of the century, Agricultural Education was controlled in most countries by the Ministry for Agriculture, while Technical Education was controlled by the Ministry for Industry and Commerce.

When tested by the emergencies that arose during the war this system does not seem to have proved satisfactory, and in the second quarter of the century the tendency has been to coordinate all educational activities by placing them under the Departments of Education. Thus, in Belgium, when the Ministry of Sciences and Arts became in 1932 the Ministry of Public Instruction, an office of Technical Education was set up within it to handle Technical and Agricultural Education, and the Ministries of Labour and Agriculture, which had formerly controlled Technical Education and Agricultural Education respectively, were now limited to having a voice in the Advisory Council for these branches.

A movement to produce a similar transfer of control took place, about the same time, in most other countries and ended either in a similar transfer or in the appointment of Inter-Departmental Commissions the purpose of which was to assure, as far as possible, a proper coordination of instruction between the various controlling Departments. Amongst the States in which the full transfer took place were Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria and

Baden in Germany. Poland and Portugal made similar transfers. Bulgaria substituted the coordination of an Inter-Departmental Commission for complete transfer. France and England placed Technical Education under their Departments of Education, but left Agricultural Education under the control of the Ministries of Agriculture.

The Soviet Union on the other hand, after having entrusted Agricultural Education to the Commissariat of Public Instruction for the first decade of its existence, passed a general law in 1930 which transferred the Agricultural Schools from the Commissariats of Public Instruction to the Commissariats of Agriculture throughout the Soviet Union.

While, therefore, there was a general trend in one direction, there was one notable and some partial exceptions.

The changes in Great Britain, in particular, indicate a considerable amount of doubt as to the authority which should control Agricultural Training. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Agricultural Education had been under the control of a special body set up under the Board of Agriculture Act of 1889; but, when Local Education Authorities were established in the beginning of the century under the Education Act, Post-Primary Agricultural Education was handed over to them. This arrangement, however, lasted only a decade, for in 1912 all forms of Agricultural Education intended for persons over the age of 16 years were transferred from the Board of Education to the Board of Agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act (1919) regularised this position by raising the Board of Agriculture to the status of a Ministry and by setting up Agricultural Committees under it which took over the Agricultural Education from the Education Committees in each county.

II

A more important factor than the authority which controls any form of education is the proportion of the national Budget which is being spent on it. Judged by this test, Agricultural Education in England is receiving comparatively little attention, since the annual expenditure on all forms of Agricultural Education under the Agricultural Committees does not reach a million pounds for the whole of England and Wales, as against seventy-three millions for Elementary Education alone and over eleven millions for Secondary Education. In fact, except in a few Farm Institutes and Agricultural Colleges, there is not, as far as I can find out, any continuous formal instruction given in Agriculture in England to an extent that could seriously raise the standard of productivity.

In France the position is different, at least in theory, since a formally organized training is attempted if not achieved. One of the peculiar things about the French system of training in Agriculture is that it is

begun at the age of nine, an age at which other countries consider a child quite incapable of benefiting from any formal training in any branch of Industry. The fact that this training is supposed to be given in the ordinary small rural school, although no real provision can be made for it in such schools, is typical of the mere paper value of many of the French programmes.

In fact, in the rural schools which I visited in various parts of France, the programmes and regulations in this respect seemed to be largely a dead letter. Of late years, however, an attempt has been made to translate theory into practice in some rural areas by transferring the pupils at the age of 12 to Central Schools in which practical training can be given by a properly equipped staff with some chance of success. In addition to this, the Department of Agriculture, which controls the Agricultural Education of boys over 16, has set up a number of Continuation Schools for such pupils and, in areas in which it cannot give longer courses, has started short winter courses of two or three months for adolescents. These short courses may be attached to Lycées, Colleges and Higher Primary Schools under the Department of Education or to Higher Schools of Agriculture under the Department of Agriculture. In addition to these, there are about 20 schools of Apprenticeship in Agriculture and other schools called Farm-Schools which give a course of two or three years in Practical Farming, and local interest and advice is availed of through Regional Commissions which draw up the agricultural programmes to suit each region and keep the work almost narrowly practical.

Other measures resulting from the interest in Agricultural Education have been the institution of a special Agricultural Diploma in the Training Colleges for Primary Teachers, the grant of an additional allowance to the Elementary Teachers who obtain this and the setting-up of a Commission to inquire into the Reorganisation of Agricultural Teaching and the Teaching of Rural Economy for both the School Period and the Post-School Period. This Commission, which sat in 1928–29, was a representative one, including officers of the Ministries of Agriculture and Education, Senators and Deputies with special agricultural qualifications, representatives of Agricultural Societies, etc. The results of its labours are contained in two Reports :—(1) " Rapport sur la Réorganisation de l'Enseignement Agricole Scolaire et Post-scolaire ", published in *Journal Officiel* June 1, 1930; (2) " Rapport sur la Réorganisation de l'Enseignement Ménager Rural Scolaire et Post-Scolaire ", published in the *Journal Officiel* December 28, 1930.

On the other hand, while there was undoubtedly a very great increase of interest in Agricultural Education in France during the post-war period, the average annual amount spent on it by the French Ministries of Agriculture and Education combined, during the last decade, was only about 30 million francs, as against over 2,250 million francs a year spent on

Primary Education alone. This is even less on paper than the proportion of educational expenditure assigned to agricultural teaching in England; and it is in actual fact considerably less when account is taken of the important part the agricultural industry plays in the national economy of France.

Little as the expenditure on Agricultural Education is in France, compared with the expenditure on the more academic branches, it is (as far as I can discover) greater in proportion than the expenditure for this purpose in most other continental countries. I cannot get any reliable figures for Germany since the present Government took over control, but such information as I have does not indicate any important development in agricultural training in the schools. On the other hand the enormous increase in productivity in German agriculture in the past decade seems to show that a great deal is being done, in some form or other, to stimulate the farmers to use the most modern methods.

III

In the Scandinavian countries a similar paradox presents itself. In Denmark, for instance, splendid progress has been made in the development of agriculture; yet the Danish Elementary Schools do not include even Rural Science or Nature Study in their curriculum, and there is no form of Continuation or Secondary Education supplied for the rural young people from 14 to 18. After the age of 18 they are eligible, of course, for admission to the Higher Folk Schools, but there are only 60 of these for the whole country. Only about two-thirds of these give any training in Agriculture, and in all of them the programmes are more literary and academic than practical.

It is true that in Denmark there are, in addition to these Higher Folk Schools, some twenty Agricultural Colleges for adults, with about 2,000 men students; but, even when the numbers of men who get some training in Agriculture in the Folk Schools is added to the numbers who get a full training in the Agricultural Colleges, the area covered is so small that Peter Manichee, the Principal of the Folk High School at Elsinore, calculates that only about a fifth of the Danish boys in agricultural areas receive any school education of any sort in Agriculture or Agricultural Economics.

One of the reasons Manichee gave for this was that the sons of the small-holders generally cannot afford to go to the Folk High Schools or the Agricultural Schools, as the Co. Councils pay only one-third of their expenses. Another was that this class of pupils is often not up to the standard at which they could benefit much by the education given in either type of school and that the Agricultural Schools, in particular, object to their having to spend the first period taking them over

Elementary School matter which they should have done in the Primary Schools. I see that, in his article on Denmark in the latest issue of the *Educational Year Book* of the Columbia University, Manichee thinks that there is some improvement in the Primary Schools of recent years in this respect.

Whatever the causes of the remarkable development of Agriculture in Denmark, it seems obvious that neither a high level of Primary School work nor a wide provision of formal training in Agriculture in any type of school has been the main factor. There is a general tendency amongst educationists in England and America to attribute the remarkable development of Danish Agriculture to the stimulating influence of the Higher Folk Schools on the rural population, but I could not find any strong confirmation of this view amongst Danish educationists.

The general opinion of these latter was that the agricultural development of the country was due to the fact that the Danish farmers, large and small, had been freeholders for a much longer period than the farmers of any other country and that this fact, combined with the resultant tendency to improve their farms and co-operate for common action, had placed them in a very favourable position when the struggle for agricultural markets became intensified in the last half of the nineteenth century. One of the subsidiary factors mentioned was the repeal of the Corn Laws in England and the excellent position of Denmark between two such markets as England and the new Germany which arose after 1870. Another reason given was the poverty of the soil, which (as one man put it) had to be constantly fertilized with brains in order to enable its products to compete with those of richer soils.

There can hardly be any doubt that a most important factor in the progress of Danish Agriculture has been that the Danish farmer had security of tenure for centuries before the farmers of other countries possessed it. Even in the worst period in the eighteenth century the Danish peasant could not be sold up or ejected from his land, which was held under life tenure. When in other countries the nobles were enclosing the common lands, the Danish absolute monarchy protected the people from this robbery in Denmark. As Jacob Lange, the Head of the Folk School of Odensee, put it : " No aristocratic parliament existed in Denmark to enact enclosure laws to steal the commons. The result was that, when the days of tilling in common were over, the common lands were divided amongst the small farmers. When England repealed the Corn Laws, our farmers were peasant proprietors and were ready to take advantage of the opportunity. When, in 1849, the absolute monarchy was abolished, these farmer-freeholders were ready to use both the economic and the political power that was given to them. The big landowners took advantage of the abolition of absolute monarchy to instal themselves in power through a House of Lords of the English type, but the small-

holders took up the struggle in the economic arena by out-doing them in the field, the cow-stall, the dairy and the markets of Denmark and the neighbouring lands."

The Irish farmers, through their power of political combination in the last half of the nineteenth century, succeeded in winning back their lands from the landlords. Danish free-holders, through similar co-operation in the field of agriculture and agricultural economics, beat their own landowners in the struggle for internal and external markets; and, just as the struggle of our people gave them a remarkable capacity for political action at home and abroad, the struggle of the Danish free-holders gave them a similar capacity for agricultural and economic organisation.

If this theory is correct, and it is one with which most Danes agree as far as it applies to Danish agricultural developments, the real root of the agricultural progress of Denmark is the age-long freehold tenure of the small Danish farmer, a root from which the other progressive forces derive, such as the co-operative movement, the industrial developments based on the needs and products of a thoroughly modern agricultural system and supported by the requirements of a farming community with very high standards of life and work, the growth of great urban centres to handle the industries arising out of such a system and the various subsidiary results that arise in their turn from this beneficent interplay of agriculture and industry.

It is all the more remarkable that such progress could have been made in a country in which there are no Continuation Schools of any sort for the rural population between the ages of 14 and 18 and in which the Primary Schools are purely academic in their curriculum and so inadequately staffed that many of the rural pupils can only get elementary instruction every second day. It certainly seems to give some ground for Grundtvig's contention that, when a boy has learned the three R's, life and work on a really progressive home-farm is as good a school as can be supplied for him during the adolescent years.

In the absence of such home-farms in Ireland, our problem, at the moment, is different from that of the Danes and we shall have to tackle it by a much wider and more intensive use of schools than they have found necessary for the development of a progressive agriculture.

Now, however, that our farmers have become freeholders, it is reasonable to expect that they too will build up a modern system of agriculture on the requirements and products of which an expanding industrial system will arise, as it has done in Denmark almost solely from the needs and products of the home-farms. The fact that Denmark, in spite of the lack of coal, ores of any sort, waterpower or other sources of industrial development, has developed a very considerable industrial and commercial system is the best augury for a similar development here in Ireland now that we have become a nation of freeholders like the Danes. JOSEPH O'NEILL

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY PATRICK G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART IV.—PIGEONS AND DOVES

Pigeons are large, long-winged birds with square or slightly rounded tails, which have twelve feathers. There are over fifty species in all the continents, but in these islands only three are found.

THE WOOD-PIGEON.—The Wood-Pigeon, also called the Ring-Dove and Woodquest, is common everywhere in the country-side, and is found even in small parks in cities. It is the largest of the family and is easily recognised, at rest, by the white patch on each side of the neck and, in flight, by the transverse white band on the wing. Though rather heavily built, it is a striking bird of brightly-coloured and glossy plumage. The back is lavender or blue-grey, the wings being somewhat darker, the breast is vinaceous shading to lavender on the abdomen, while the sides of the neck are glossed with purple and green. The bill is yellow, red at the base, and the legs are red, often tinged with purple.

The cooing, too, is characteristic. An old interpretation of it was: "Tak' two coos, Davy; tak' two coos, Davy; tak'," and one of the inevitable stories that grew up around it was of a thief who had set out with the intention of stealing one cow, but was induced to take two by the song of a Woodquest, which he elected to regard as an approving voice from heaven.

When flushed from trees, and at times even from the ground, the Wood-Pigeon dashes off with a loud clatter of wings in direct and rapid flight. In the spring display the bird rises and falls in a series of undulations, often producing a loud clap, which is ascribed to a forcible down-stroke of the wings, analogous to the crack of a whip.

The nest is a mere lattice of small twigs, through which the two eggs can often be seen from below. There can be but little comfort for the nestlings in such a cradle. Indeed it has been said that the Ring-Dove is such a vigorous bird and so difficult to kill because of its Spartan upbringing. The squab is quite an ugly creature, with sparse yellow down, through which the lead-blue skin shows, and with broad, boat-shaped bill. It feeds by thrusting its bill into the throat of the adult and sucking up the milky fluid, or "pigeon's milk," which both parents provide for its early nourishment.

Birds, with few exceptions, are more useful than harmful to the country-side, but the Wood-Pigeon is one of the exceptions. It must be admitted that its economic record is very bad. Dr. Collinge summarizes the analysis of its annual food as follows: "62 per cent of the food was injurious to agriculture, 36.5 per cent of a neutral nature and only 1.5 per cent beneficial." I fear there are no extenuating circumstances.

These voracious birds are undoubtedly too numerous for the welfare of agriculture, and the annual loss to this country from their depredations must be enormous. The home-bred birds are plentiful enough to cause anxiety by the damage they do to corn, roots, potatoes and clover. But our native pigeons are augmented in autumn by immigrants, in varying numbers, from the continent. Some seasons, roughly every four to six years, the migrant hordes are immense. When they visit a field of sprouts, savoys or other winter green crops, they leave it, as we might expect, a desert.

Some years ago a friend, who is a competent observer and a reliable authority, happened to witness a section of the autumn invasion of Wood-Pigeons. He was on Bray Head when suddenly he heard what seemed to be the soughing of a strong wind through the trees of a forest, and on looking up he found the sky darkened by a huge flight of birds coming in from the sea. He saw they were Woodquests and he estimated their numbers at 10,000 strong. Ten minutes later another wave, of roughly double the size, passed over him inland. When we consider that this occurred at just one point and on one afternoon, we can imagine how numerous are the immigrant birds that arrive all along the east coast during the whole period of migration.

Early in the present century a sensation was caused in Co. Wexford by what was regarded as a very mysterious portent. One day, birds of many species, but chiefly Wood-Pigeons and Starlings, rained down from the heavens and settled on the houses and trees of the country-side, and even on the horses and ploughs of the farmers working in the fields. It looked like one of those prodigies in which the soothsayers of old used to revel. It was, in reality, the autumn arrival of foreign-bred birds. They had encountered adverse and foggy weather on their journey; they were tired and bewildered, and they settled on the first object that afforded a foothold. Fog is, indeed, the bane of migrating birds. In clear and cloudless skies they fly high and they pass unnoticed; but in a fog they lose their bearings, often wandering far from their usual route, and at night when they catch the glimmer from the light-stations, they dash towards it and frequently kill themselves against the glass of the lanterns. Thus Barrington (*Migration of Birds*) reports that at the Tuskar Rock Lighthouse, off the south-east corner of Ireland, during the autumn rush of migrants, "from five to six hundred Blackbirds and Thrushes were killed each night from the 20th to the 23rd October." I must add, however, that though the Wood-Pigeons of the Co. Wexford "phenomenon" were disconcerted by the fog, they are seldom, if ever, reported killed by "striking" at the lighthouses. It is curious that, for all the migrations of the species, only one recovery of a foreign-marked Woodquest has been so far reported. This was a bird ringed in Denmark and recovered in Leix 8½ years later.

THE STOCK-DOVE.—The Stock-Dove was first recorded in Ireland in 1875, though Mr. C. B. Moffat has reason for believing that it was previously known in Wexford as a winter visitor. The first nest was found in 1877. Now it is a resident species and is still increasing. It breeds in most counties from Donegal to Cork, and as far west as Galway and Mayo.

The Stock-Dove is a rather smaller and more compact-looking bird than the Wood-Pigeon, from which it may at once be distinguished not only by the absence of white on the wings and neck, but also by its darker and bluer-grey colouring. The wing-quills and the fringe of the tail are black, while the throat and breast are vinous. The sides of the neck show a patch of iridescent green at close quarters. Its voice, too, distinguishes it from the Wood-Pigeon. The cooing, which is somewhat like a tame pigeon's, has been described as a rather deep, gruff "ooo-woo," repeated up to a dozen or more times, with the first syllable long-drawn out and the second short, clipped and emphatic. Apart from these differences, and its faster and more dashing flight, the Stock-Dove resembles the Wood-Pigeon in habits and behaviour. Being less abundant it is usually found in much smaller flocks. In Leix I have seen, at times, flocks of from twenty to thirty birds, but more often small parties of five or six either alone or mingling with Wood-Pigeons.

The Stock-Dove nests in old timber with suitable holes, in rabbit-burrows, in sand-dunes and in cavities among outcrops of rock. Its name is said to be derived from its habit of nesting in the stocks of hollow trees, though one writer seems to suggest that it arose from the erroneous belief that this species was the "stock" from which tame pigeons are descended.

THE ROCK-DOVE.—The Rock-Dove can scarcely be reckoned among the birds of the country-side, as it is now confined to the neighbourhood of our rocky coasts. But it often ranges, for foraging purposes, to fields and cultivation at a considerable distance inland, when it might possibly be confused with the Stock-Dove. It is distinguished from the latter species by its much paler back, by the two distinct black wing-bars and by the white or whitish patch above the tail.

The Rock-Dove, or "Blue-Rock," is the original from which all kinds of domestic pigeons are derived, and its voice does not differ at all from the familiar cooing of the tame breeds.

THE TURTLE-DOVE.—The Turtle-Dove belongs to a small group of birds to which the name Dove seems especially applicable. The Doves differ from the *Columbae*, or Pigeons, by their smaller size, shorter wings and longer tail. The Turtle-Dove, our only representative of the *genus*, is the time-honoured emblem of tenderness and conjugal love. Its

graceful form and the delicate harmony of its modest plumage are proverbial. It is readily distinguished from the Pigeons not only by its markedly smaller size and more slender build, but also by its browner colour, with rufous tinge on the shoulders, and by the black and white patch on the sides of the neck. Its tail at once catches the eye when the bird flies from the observer; it is wedge-shaped, with a dark centre and white borders and tips. Its voice, too, is distinctive. It is a deep, crooning or purring note, usually repeated in phrases of three, the first being slightly accented. This " song " sounds strangely out of harmony with the sprite-like form and gentle habits of its author, and suggests a much larger and more robust bird.

The Turtle-Dove is a summer migrant to Great Britain, where it is now widely distributed and where, as well as on the continent, it has been extending its range for more than a century. In Ireland it is a rare bird, generally appearing only as a passage-migrant in May and June, and less frequently in the autumn migration.

The Turtle-Dove is thought to have nested in this country on a few occasions, though the nest has never been definitely found. The most convincing instance occurred in Co. Dublin in 1939. In May a pair settled in the parkland surrounding a country mansion, often visiting the kitchen-garden. They remained throughout the summer and gave every indication of being nesting birds. During the period I often heard and saw the birds, and I took part in the unsuccessful search for the nest. Hitherto only two birds were seen, but in August four appeared together in the garden and park, apparently two adults with two young birds. Hence there is little doubt in the minds of ornithologists that, in this case at least, the Turtle-Dove did nest in Ireland. And as the species is still spreading in other parts of Europe, those who have an interest in birds at heart are inspired with hope and confidently look forward to seeing, in the near future, this beautiful and engaging Dove pass definitely from the stage of passage-migrant to summer resident.

P. G. Kennedy

ITALIAN COLONIAL POLICY AND PROBLEMS

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

PART II *

THE Unification of Italy posed more problems than it solved. It was true that Lombardy and Naples, Tuscany and Venetia, now owed common allegiance to the House of Savoy; it was true that the new state had regained its ancient capital. But this union of territories masked a complete lack of unanimity between the peoples who lived in them. The Wars of Independence had been supported by a small class in the small state of Piedmont. The majority of the Italian people had no allegiance to a Monarchy which was felt to be as much a usurper as a liberator. There was no feeling of national unity; as was recognised in the well-known saying of Massimo d'Azeglio "we have made Italy; now we must make Italians." Still less was there any feeling of national pride: the dependence of the Risorgimento on foreign aid had been too obvious. As time went on, the failure of the new Kingdom to realise the hopes which had been staked upon it produced a growing disillusionment and scepticism, which was powerfully strengthened by the poverty of the new colonies and, later, by the humiliation of Adowa. By the end of the century Italy was in the depths of a wave of self-distrust. For such a country, it was felt, the future held no hope.

This lethargy was dissipated by the work of two opposing parties which flourished in the first decade of the new century. Both of them brought a fresh outlook into Italian politics; and their eventual fusion resulted in Fascism.

The Nationalist group revived the Risorgimento dream of an Italy '*grande, forte, rispettata.*' They desired that Italy should cease to be dragged at the heels of England or France or Germany, but should act by herself and for herself. They argued that Italy must cease to stand apart from the doings of the world if "she did not wish to remain the puppet of more active nations and lose, not only the reasons for life, but life itself . . . It was necessary to end that policy of commencing and not finishing, of wishing and not willing, of proclaiming rights and not enforcing them which had been Italy's Mediterranean policy since 1870." Colonial policy could not fail to be affected by such a change of spirit; and the aims of this group have a very modern ring. In 1906 one of their papers "examined the questions of the Trentino, Trieste and Dalmatia in regard to our future in the East; then Tunis, Corsica, and Malta: . . . and Italian activity in Syria and Asia Minor." No less attentively did they study "migration and the settlement of Italians abroad"; and to the union of presumed or real *terre irredente* in Europe they added the aim of conquest of land for settlement in Africa.

Every claim that has been advanced in our own day was first defined

* For Part I see issue of September 1941. This article was written before July 1943.

nearly half a century ago. But there was one element in these hopes which merits particular attention. It is clear that the dream of African expansion was related, with whatever plausibility, to the necessity of settling a growing population ; it is equally clear that Italian aims in Europe were imperialistic in the old style. More than that. These annexations owed their prospective value not solely to their economic or military value but, in greater measure, to the moral effect they would have on the Italian people and on the position of Italy in the world. Here again we have the link between morale and colonial claims. However important colonies might be economically they would have the greater advantage of showing the world, and the Italian people, that Italy counted for something in the world. The Italian people, then sceptical of their ability to govern themselves and anxious for peace rather than a career of arms, would by conquest come to know that they were the heirs of the Roman Empire and would inherit the Roman spirit with the Roman lands. This partly incoherent feeling is well put by Giovanni Gentile in the words which, while they apply to the intervention of 1915, are representative of the thought of all this era :—

> It was essential to enter the war . . . for all the military and political, if not economic, advantages which annexations would have brought in their train and for the colonial acquisitions which we could promise ourselves through victory : yet all these individual ends were to be taken as corollaries or conditions of the outstanding aim. It was necessary to declare war in order, once for all, to cement in blood this Nation which had been formed more by fortune than by the valour of her sons, more by the coincidence of favourable circumstances than by the effort of an Italian people conscious of its unity, of its interest in unity, of its right to unity. (It was necessary) to cement this Nation in order to make it a true and living Nation, capable of acting, of counting and making itself count, of weighing in the world—to make it enter history with its own personality, nature, and character, not living forever, as a borrower from other civilisations, in the shade of great nations that had made history.

Beside all that, the plea of growing nations in a confined space and all the other arguments whereby Italy has sought to justify her actions to friendly or possibly friendly neutrals seem meaningless enough. One point more. The Nationalists forced their people into war in 1911 and again in 1915. The same reasoning underlay the Abyssinian war in 1935. Italy could have obtained most, if not all, of what she wanted without firing a shot if her approach had been different. But negotiations would not have been enough : it was necessary to have a war, firstly so that the Italians could feel themselves to be citizens of no mean country, secondly so that Europe could mark the newly-born valour of the Italian soldier. It may have been thought, in 1940, that fighting would be short and rich in easy laurels. One way or another there is little emphasis on economic grievances in this consistent policy. The true nationalist grievance was not directed against Great Britain or France, but against the Italian people : the wars of 1915, 1935 and 1940 are not so much foreign wars as civil wars of the Italian spirit.

Neither in the second decade of the century nor in the fourth did the talian people show any desire to be cemented in their blood. Hard-orking, kindly, and deeply attached to their countryside the Italians ave shown little desire either to emigrate to the colonies they already ossess or to fight for newer and less fertile lands.[1] Those who saw the rst drafts of troops leaving Rome for East Africa in 1935 will remember ie dead silence of the crowds through which they marched, a silence made l the more marked by sporadic and obviously organised cheering from iose members of the Party who were stopping at home themselves. ven a dictator may find it impossible to fire a peace-loving people with ie spirit of an aggressive war.

It was not a pacific spirit alone that resisted the Nationalist fervour. he Socialist Party, which enjoyed its palmiest days in the first two decades f the century, opposed imperialism with every form of abuse. Two ypical comments on the annexation of Tripoli may be quoted :—

> Here we are faced with an Italy nationalist, conservative, and clerical which aims to make the sword its law and the army the school of the nation. We had oreseen this moral perversion and are not surprised by it. But those who think that iis growth of militarism is a sign of strength are greatly mistaken. Strong people ave no need to give themselves up to such a stupid orgy as that in which the Italian ress is now letting itself go in such mad exultation. Strong peoples have some ense of proportion. Nationalist and militarist Italy shows that it lacks this sense. hus it comes about that a miserable war of conquest is acclaimed as if it were a oman triumph.[2]

> The African war was supposed to mark the end of Italian socialism. That, at ast, is what they hoped even if they did not openly confess it. Never was there a ope more foolish or one followed by more bitter disillusionment. The proletariat still with us and fights against the nationalistic fatherland.[3]

The style has since become familiar ; and admirers of the Duce will ote with pleasure that his writings, however changed their matter, show o faltering over the years.

It is well-known that in 1915 Mussolini abandoned his opposition to talian belligerency. His sentiments on militarism, however, remained nchanged to so late a date as the foundation of the Fascist Party in 1919. n its early days the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* was, in thought and action, revolutionary movement. Its original programme combined the ending f imperialism, Italian and foreign, with the sequestration of war-profits, he nationalisation of property, and the expulsion of Pope and King from Rome. Its members, at that time, had nothing in common with the Nationalists, " everyone of whom," noted Balbo in his diary, " thinks himself filled with the Holy Ghost."

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[1] It is notorious that emigration to Libya in recent years has not been voluntary.
[2] *L'Avanti*, January 21st, 1913. [3] Quoted by Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*. Gollancz, 935. p. 98.

These promises proved politically unprofitable. They could be outbid by the Communists. If the Italian people really awaited the destruction of Throne and Altar (and Bank) with longing, they were more likely to turn for help to that party which, in Russia, had some experience of such work. They were unlikely to accept the Fascist tender. Worse still, it became increasingly apparent, as 1920 wore on, that people only wanted to get back to normal times and had no desire for fundamental changes. The confusion caused by demobilisation of men and industry had been reduced to order; the goods so severely rationed or unobtainable for four years were to be seen in shops and stalls again; their production promised work for all. There was little danger to Church or State in this more tranquil atmosphere; and, sixteen months before the March on Rome saved western civilization from Communism, Mussolini announced in the *Popolo d'Italia*: "To say that a Bolshevist peril still exists in Italy is to change into reality certain fears that are not to be acknowledged. Bolshevism is vanquished."

Equally it was obvious that there was no danger from revolutionary Fascism. The next two years therefore (1921 and 1922) witnessed a gradual retreat from the programme of 1919 and a slow reconciliation with established order. At intervals old flags were run down and new colours hoisted. "The hirelings of a maniacal and diseased capitalism" became "the glorious and gallant Italian army"; "the hereditary sore of Rome" became "the Monarchy which enshrines our history and symbolises our unity"; "the toothless old women, traitors, and perverts of the Vatican" became "the guardians of the universal tradition of Rome." Naturally, as it traversed the political sky, the sun of Fascism shone with special brilliance on the Nationalists. "We," said Mussolini in 1922, "bring the numbers and you bring the doctrine." It was true: no historian will deny to Fascism the inestimable strength of inconsistency. It implied however that if the new Fascism ever got to power, it would consider the colonial aspirations of its latest allies with sympathy. In October the long manoeuvring ended in success; and Mussolini was called to Rome. Those of his companions who had survived from the earlier days, if not numerous, were fully representative of the two extremes of political sagacity. "But," as an observer noted, "it was not the men of the people, the ex-soldiers and reformers for whom he had planned and to whom he had appealed three years before, who welcomed him, but the men of the new Right, the Nationalists, and it was in their company that he entered the capital to set up his dictatorship." The Nationalists had preached their revelation to the Gentiles; and Balbo was to die as Governor of Libya.

Colonial expansion, however, was only one of the many problems which faced the new Government. There was much to be done in Italy itself—the balancing of the budget, the restoration of public order, the initiation

f the great public works. Above all there was the urgent necessity to onsolidate the Revolution, to drive the other parties—the Socialists, the iberals, above all the *Popolari*—into silence. The dictatorship did not merge until January 1925. Even when the régime had been made secure t home, there were years of neglect in East Africa, of impotence in ibya to be retrieved. Not until towards the end of the decade could a ositive colonial policy be put in hand. It was undertaken then with all ne enthusiasm of a Government that had done wonders of reconstruction nd of a people now conscious of its higher standing in the world and xpectant of greater things. "*Ora*," Mussolini told them from the balcony f the Chigi, "*viene il bello*."

The path of expansion was neither easy nor straight. Great Britain nd France had emerged from the settlement of Versailles as the greatest owers in Africa. There could be no question, in the twenties, of Italian ction against either or both of them. On the other hand much might be ained, less gloriously perhaps but more effectively certainly, by skilful ublicity. The pacificism of the age was against expansion, that word of o evil omen; but its admission of the possibility, indeed the necessity, f peaceful change gave fairer promise. The Fascist State, already well-ersed in the arts of propaganda, turned its energies to the exposition of s colonial grievances.

Apart from the necessity of curing a self-inflicted inferiority complex r of occupying strategically important points (both of which were the eal aims of this press campaign and neither of which could be admitted) talian writers, growing yearly more persuasive, had two chief arguments. oth of them deserve careful and sympathetic attention. In the first place ttention would be drawn to the growing population of Italy. Before 1914 nd in the years immediately following the war, the surplus population ad migrated to North or South America. The reduction of the United tates quota in 1924 gravely reduced the numbers that would be admitted ach year. It was thus possible to paint a picture of an increasing people onfined to narrow territories and shut off by Anglo-Saxon selfishness rom wide and undeveloped lands overseas.

There was a great deal of truth in this picture. There was also a onsiderable degree of exaggeration. It omitted the inconvenient truth that he Fascist Government discouraged emigration of any kind, especially hat movement to Southern France which became so wide-spread after he closing of the American ports. It ignored its very energetic measures o increase the Italian population—measures which tended to reduce he sincerity of its protestations of an over-crowded people. Nevertheless he apologist could call to the ideals of the League of Nations, never so owerful as then, to reinforce his case. It had been generally accepted hat international migration, for European peoples at least, should be as ree as possible. If indeed the United States could not be moved from

its isolation to implement such aims, were there not other states that could and should? Could not the states of South America, so excellent and loyal members of the League, receive the surplus of Italian fecundity? Or Canada? Or Australia?

They did not. The Italian Government did not expect, or hope, that they should. Its policy was less obvious. A greater Italian colony in Brazil or a new settlement in Australia would be too far away to be of political advantage. But if the Western democracies, amiably and regretfully aware that the promises of the post-war world had not been kept, could be persuaded that Italy had a just grievance their consciences could be more profitably stirred. After all South America was very far away; and the Mediterranean littoral and Egypt and Ethiopia, so much nearer, so very much more valuable, were governed not by an impersonal League but by impressionable democracies. Much might be gained if they could be persuaded that Italy had a good case for developing these lands that lay so near her.

In the second place the apologist could dwell upon his country's poverty in the raw materials of industry. Freedom of trade in these commodities had been one of the problems which the League had been set up to solve: it was precisely that one which the League had most conspicuously burked. The Economic Conference of 1927 proved nearly as useless as any Conference of the decade: the tariffs that it failed to lower were to be most powerfully, and disastrously for the peace and happiness of the world, reinforced by the United States Tariff of 1930 and by the Ottowa agreements of 1932. When he contrasted the professions of the great democracies with their acts the Italian propagandist set himself an easy task. But still he had not all the right of the matter on his side. He might have been asked how far Italy contributed to freer trade; how far her policy was avowedly directed towards a degree of self-sufficiency which precluded any true liberty of exchange. The Fascist Government, having pursued a nationalist economic policy with enthusiasm, had little right to complain if other Governments, some of whom were temperamentally in favour of free trade, found themselves forced to follow its example.

There was a more serious weakness. Italian writers might make such points with considerable force—but they were directed against the wrong people. Italians might point with justice to the rolling prairies of Canada, to the lonely Australian countryside. They might contrast the emptiness of these wide lands with the crowded industry of the Venetian plain or the inhospitable hillsides of the Abruzzi. They might impress English or French opinion with such glaring inequalities. But no Fascist wanted Canada or Australia. They wanted (as has been said) the keys of the Mediterranean—Tunis, Egypt, and the hereditary enemy Abyssinia. But on what score could they justify Italian expansion in these crowded lands? Were there not already too many Arabs in Tunisia, too many Egyptians

Egypt? Italian fecundity, striking when compared with British, was impressive when set against the teeming life of Asia or the Mediterranean ore. Nor did the argument of raw materials add strength to Italian ims. The African continent might present opportunities to Fascist lour, but it produces in its entirety only a small percentage of the raw aterials of the world. If the tricolour were to float from Cairo to the Cape, alian industry would not be appreciably delivered from its dependence free imports: the anxieties of its directors, of Fiat and Montecatini, Signori Benni and Pirelli would be unrelieved.

Carefully analysed, therefore, the arguments of Italian writers can ly point to migration to countries outside the Mediterranean. They nnot be used to justify the path of expansion which was first publicly dicated by the Duce in March 1934 and which has been followed since. evertheless they served their purpose. They succeeded, and very rightly, persuading many that Italy was unfairly restricted; by their success ey led many to the inconsequent conclusion, less true and far more ngerous, that she should expand in Africa. They became more urgent time went on; the preparations for expansion were pressed on with creasing haste. From the start Italy had been prepared to move; it came yearly more necessary that she should move soon.

By the middle of the thirties economic influences powerfully engthened those older forces that worked in favour of expansion. en before the depression of 1929, Italian exports had suffered severely m an absurdly high stabilisation of the currency in 1927. The total eakdown of international trade in 1931 and 1932 hit Italy, so dependent the export of luxury goods, with especial severity. The number of employed rose from half a million in January 1929 to a million and a arter in January 1933.

To economic distress was added a worsening of the political situation. ne Nazi coup d'état foreshadowed the end of that artificial situation which, during the period of German disarmament, Italy could act dependently of Western or Central Europe. If the prestige of Italian ns was to be vindicated abroad and an antidote found to discontent home, there was no time to be lost before power politics would demand l attention. It was doubly clear that Abyssinia would be the scene of new adventure: there was as yet no thought that claims could be vanced against Great Britain or France, and the debt of Adowa remained paid. We know, from the appalling frankness of Marshal de Bono's ok, that the Abyssinian war was first planned in 1933.

So much has happened since the Italian invasion of Abyssinia that re seems little point in reviving the controversy on sanctions which ged so furiously just eight years ago. The point that needs emphasis here that the reasons for the Italian action were far more complicated than apologists ever admitted. Quite clearly the clash at Wal-Wal, which

served as the *casus belli*, had nothing to do with the matter at all; if anybody ever did think so, de Bono's book should have disillusioned him long ago. It is still less possible to believe that the Fascist Government was spurred into action by a humane desire to end the intermittent slave-trade between Abyssinia and Arabia. Abyssinia was then cut off from the Red Sea by British, French, and Italian Somaliland; even the most fervent supporter of the Duce ought to guess through whose territory the slave caravans passed on their way to Arabia. Much also was made at the time of the internal disorder of Abyssinia: it was frequently asserted that the Emperor was a usurper against whom many chiefs were in open rebellion. It is sufficient to remember that the Italians could find only one important chief to fight for them in 1935; they do not appear to have been so fortunate in 1941.

The fact was that, apart from its very real economic grievances, the Italian Government stood in desperate need of some success which would at once appeal to its people and arouse their spirit. It is impossible to believe that if the Duce had sought the very widest economic concessions without the show of force, he would not have received sufficient diplomatic support from the French and British Governments in office at the time. It was first the threat and then the use of force that brought on the application of sanctions. Once again, in 1935 as in 1915 and 1911, it was not enough to get business advantages; they had to be got with a beating of drums and a flying of colours.

The Intervention of June 1940 opened a new chapter in Italian colonial history. The spirit of that decision appears to bring together the two chief arguments of these articles. In the first place the declaration of war was accompanied by a statement of colonial grievances and claims against the French Republic. These were not the only traditional aims to be professed. There were echoes, too, of older passions from an earlier war. "If neutrality continues," Mussolini had written in 1915, "Italy to-morrow will be a nation abject and accursed, a nation condemned without autonomy and without future. The barrel-organ man, the boarding-house keeper and the shoe-black will continue to represent Italy in the world; and the world of the living will once more give us a little compassion and much disdain; we will be a country conquered without fighting for ourselves, dead before born." The same thought, expressed in almost the same words, has since been used by Signor Gayda to hearten the Italian people in adversity; and the comments of some English publicists, who wrote of the intervention more in sorrow than in anger, go far to justify it. Let it be said once again that Fascist Italy fights now as Liberal Italy fought in 1915 for something more than colonies: the issues of her war lie not in Greece or in Egypt, but in the self-questionings of the Italian mind.

JAMES MEENAN

FATHER JAMES ARCHER, S.J.
1550—1625 (?)

BY JAMES CORBOY, S.J.

FEW men played a greater part than Father James Archer in the tremendous effort to smash the growing power of England in land that marked the closing years of the sixteenth century. Arriving Ireland in 1596, he found the country already in the throes of war. ıe Tudors had by this time realised that England could not be safe less Ireland were subjugated. By the end of the sixteenth century, gland had shaken off the last shackles of medieval restraints and had ıerged as one of the strongest powers in Europe. The threats of Spain d the Pope had been warded off, and England was looked upon as the der and head of Protestant Europe. It was at this time that she turned r face in real earnest towards Ireland.

The history of the Reformation in Ireland during the sixteenth century n be told briefly. The reform movements of Henry VIII and Edward, s son, were a complete failure. Neither of these kings had sufficient litical control outside the Pale to enforce their authority, and even thin the boundaries of the Pale the movement made little progress. uring the reign of Mary the Catholic Church again flourished, though e confiscated monasteries were not restored. In 1558 Elizabeth succeeded the throne of England. Prior to her succession, she had never shown y remarkable zeal for religion. As queen, what she desired pre-eminently s peace and harmony. For the first years of her reign, her position in ıgland was too insecure to permit her to embark on any intensive rsecution of the Catholics. The clergy, however, were subject to a rsecution that varied all through her reign; it was intensified or ckened according to the political circumstances of the moment. Up to 78 religion did not play a vital part in opposing the anglicization of eland. Gradually from that time on, it became more and more important, til finally in the reign of James I the Catholics, both Irish and Anglo- sh, clung to their faith as the only part of the heritage that had been t them. So too it was religion that at the beginning of the next century s to unite the two races, by inciting them both to oppose the alien creed. ter it was on the rock of her Faith, preserved and enlivened at this time, at the nationality of Ireland was founded.

Perhaps before we examine the work of Fr. Archer, a word on the state religion in Ireland during the sixteenth century may not be out of place. is certain that it was not a very vital force in the lives of many of the

people. They were Catholic more by custom than by conviction. Here is one account left by Dr. Tanner, who had to leave the Society of Jesus owing to ill-health and who was later appointed Bishop of Cork: "He [Dr. Tanner] is assured by grave men that during all this time not a hundred Irishmen in all Ireland have been infected with heresy, though not a few . . . attend the profane rites of the heretics, and the demoralization of the people is such that a pious Catholic is hardly to be found; and no wonder since the clergy are the most depraved of all. Moreover, there is so little instruction to be had in the Christian Faith that few can so much as repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, or the commandments, and still fewer understand them. Sermons are so uncommon that there are many that have never so much as heard one. The Sacraments are rarely administered. In fine so gross is the ignorance of the people that there are many who, passing all their lives in the grossest sin, have grown accustomed thereto."

In general we may conclude that religion was dormant in Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century. The people indeed had the Faith and seemed eager for instruction, and there is no evidence of anti-clericalism as in England. On the contrary, the priests were generally loved and would always find a safe shelter among the people, who had seen so many of them give up their lives for the Faith. But, unfortunately, many of the priests were not active. The morals of the people were often depraved. There was little scope for Catholic education. The monasteries for the most part had been dissolved. The external organization of the Church was shattered, and the wars had increased the laxity and poverty of the people. But the light of Faith had been kept glowing by the zealous labours of the Friars and the heroic priests and bishops who had endured persecution and death to shield their flocks. This then was the state of the country, political and religious, when in 1596 Fr. James Archer landed in Waterford to inaugurate what was to become the first permanent mission of the Society of Jesus in Ireland.

James Archer was born in Kilkenny in 1550. He attended the school of the famous Dr. Peter White of that town, where the young Archer seems to have been a distinguished scholar. Very little is known of his career for the next fifteen years. In 1577 he was at Louvain, but in the following year he was back again in Ireland. On the 25 May 1581 he entered the Society of Jesus in Rome, and the next we hear of him is that in 1592 he was at Pont-à-Mousson with Fathers Richard Fleming, Richard de la Field and Christopher Hollywood, all Irish Jesuits. In the same year he was sent to Spain to collaborate with other Irish Jesuits in the foundation of the famous Irish college at Salamanca, which was instituted for the training of secular priests for the home mission. He remained there until 1596, when he was sent back to Ireland with Fr. Henry Fitzsimon to reopen the Jesuit mission there which had lapsed for ten years.

Almost immediately after his arrival in Ireland, Fr. Archer went rthward to meet Hugh O'Neill, who was already in rebellion against izabeth. Archer looked upon the " Nine Years War " as a crusade ainst the heretic queen. Therefore, during the few years that he was in :land, he strove to the utmost of his powers to unite the Irish under : leadership of Tyrone and to induce the Spaniards to send aid. His luence with the Irish chiefs during these years was of paramount portance. He was looked upon by the English as one of their most ngerous enemies, and they laid several traps to ensnare him. If we were rely on official contemporary documents alone, we should imagine that cher was a traitorous intriguer and an enemy to all stability and good vernment. From other sources we can see that he was, first and foremost, zealous missionary for the Faith.

In his first letter to his General in Rome, written on 10 August 1598, gives an account of the precarious life he was leading even at this early ge. " The Government," he says " hates me very much, hunts me very en in frequent raids, and has set a price on my head. This forces me to e in the woods and in hiding-places. I cannot even return to Spain, merchants are afraid to receive me into their vessels, for they know well at there are spies in every port on the look-out for me." Then he goes to describe his missionary work: " I have already heard many usand confessions, and have instructed an uncultivated and rude ople. I brought back some to the Church and reconciled a noble person d his wife, and thus put a stop to dangerous dissentions which existed ong members of both families who were leading men in the land. I ministered the Sacraments in the camp, and it is marvellous to see the wds that come from the surrounding districts to hear Mass and go to nfession."

In the beginning of the year 1598, the informer William Paule notified rd Justice Loftus of the activities of Archer. He said that the Jesuit ked sometimes in Munster with Lord Roche and sometimes in Tipperary h Lord Mountgarrett. Paule urged Loftus to induce these Lords to tray Archer. Alternatively he suggested that the Protestant Bishop of lkenny should be ordered to capture him when he visited his friends in t town. Warning Loftus that Archer was wary, Paule informed him t the priest knew that his enemies were searching for him. Paule ther suggested that he should have no scruple in killing Archer if he isted arrest. Even at this early date, Fr. Archer had attained to a position outstanding influence with the Irish chieftains. He had already been iversally accepted by them as an able adviser and true friend and had n the esteem and affection of the Irish people. He was equally hated and red by their enemies.

In October 1598, Archer was mentioned in a despatch as " the chief rrer of these coals (i.e., conspiracies) and promises to many the coming

of forces from Spain." He certainly did not spare himself in his effort to unite the Irish chiefs in their struggle against England, the common foe. In November 1598, he succeeded in inducing the Baron of Cahir to join the rebellion against Elizabeth. He hoped that by Easter 1599 " we, and such as be of our Catholic confederacy, shall be masters of all the cities, towns and forts in Ireland." His reasons for the war throw a flood of light on his attitude to politics, and afford a convincing refutation of those who doubted his motives. They were first to restore the Catholic Church to its former position in Ireland ; second, to repair the injuries done by the English to the Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland ; and finally to place a Catholic Prince on the throne of Ireland. Did Archer hope to set up Hugh O'Neill as High King of all Ireland or did he intend to make Ireland a vassal-state of Spain? We do not know. The concepts of ' nationality ' and a ' national state ' were only being moulded in the minds of men at this very time. It is even doubtful whether men like James Fitzmaurice or even Hugh O'Neill himself conceived it. Nationality in Ireland takes its origin from the religious persecutions of the seventeenth century ; yet undoubtedly there existed in the sixteenth century some tendency towards local patriotism, especially as opposed to English tyranny. It is difficult to state definitely the motives and desires that agitated the mind of Archer during these years. One thing is certain that he considered freedom from English rule as essential to the spiritual welfare of Ireland.

In December 1598, Archer and his constant companion Bishop Creagh were accused of inciting the whole province of Munster to rebel. So great was his influence that his name had already come to the notice of Elizabeth, who charged him with " raising her subjects to rebellion." Soon afterwards, Elizabeth was again informed that the Irish priests, especially Archer " the Pope's Legate," had assured the lords and chieftains who supported the queen or who remained neutral that after the war they would receive no better treatment from the English than the rebels. In this way they hoped to alienate her subjects from their allegiance. Rewards were offered for the capture of Archer, dead or alive. O'Neill's crushing victory at the Yellow Ford on the 15 August 1598 had shaken the loyalty of many supporters of the English. Archer's influence was more pernicious than ever. He was constantly on the move, visiting now one chieftain, now another. Several attempts were made to capture him, but all miscarried. Soon after his arrival in Ireland he had been arrested. He had managed to escape however and had determined never again to fall into the hands of his enemies. We can easily imagine the precarious position in which he was placed by the constant watch of spies, especially in areas where the Irish chieftains were not openly hostile to the Crown. But, through the goodwill and ever-watchful care of the Irish people, he escaped unscathed—though often at the last moment. His capture was looked upon by the Government as vitally important, his life being deemed of greater value

the Irish than those of the chieftains themselves. In 1600, in a report Captain Hugh Mostian who had been won over by Archer from the nglish side, we read that " Archer by his sole authority as a private ligious brought more comfort to the Irish than a great force of soldiers uld do, and that the voice of the people gave him the title of Legate. t his nod the hearts of men are united and held together not only in the rritory of Berehaven and all Munster, but in the greater part of the ingdom . . .".

In 1600 occurred a famous incident—the capture of the Earl of rmonde by Owny O'More. The circumstances connected with the plot e fully described in the Calendar of Carew MSS. and elsewhere. Fr. rcher happened to be staying with O'More when the latter captured rmonde. There is no evidence to prove the charge that he was the stigator of the act. Naturally enough he was blamed by the English r having contrived the treachery and for refusing to liberate the Earl; though, according to them, some other Jesuits desired his release. He was so described as Ormonde's ' bed-fellow ' and was said to have tried to nvert him, which seems to be true. Several years later Ormonde was nverted by two Irish Jesuits, Frs. O'Kearney and Wale.

Early in 1600 Archer was summoned to Rome to give an account of ne Irish Jesuit mission. It is strange that he should have been called way at such a critical juncture in the history of Ireland. Possibly the General in Rome did not fully realize what was at stake at the moment, r perhaps he might have thought that the final victory had already been on by the Irish. In a letter to the General, written by the Superior of ne Mission, Fr. Richard de la Field, an extremely cautious and conservative nan, we read of Archer : " He has been a source of light and help in our ork here. He has always lived with these Irish lords who are endeavouring o promote the interests of religion, and in consequence he is the object f an intense hatred of the Queen's officials and of the army. His presence ere at the same time is very necessary for the advancement of the Catholic aith in these calamitous times. It is important for us that he should be ent back as soon as possible." This letter is very valuable as coming from ne who, at this very time, was himself hesitating as to what side he should upport in the conflict. It rightly stresses the spiritual nature of Archer's ork, for it was that which predominated in all his other activity.

Of Archer's visit to Rome we know nothing. He was back again in reland in a few months, as his spies obligingly inform us. It was falsely eported to Cecil that Archer was returning from Rome armed with a Bull of Excommunication against all those who supported Elizabeth in he war. A few months later Cecil was again informed that Archer had anded in Ireland and was inciting the people to revolt. On his return ne was again almost captured ; but, as often before, he managed to escape is pursuers. Sir George Carew reported that Archer's arrival foreshadowed

the advent of a Spanish fleet and the renewal of the war in Ireland. From an account given by his confrere, Brother Dominic Collins, S.J., we learn that Archer actually did return to Ireland with Spanish help. His influence with the Irish soldiers was again evinced when, on the 29 May 1602, Carew informed Cecil that but for Archer many of them would have returned to their homes after the defeat at Kinsale or would have gone over to the side of the English. " Every day," says Carew, " he devises letters and intelligences out of Spain, assuring them of succour, and once a week confirms new leagues and seals them with the Sacrament." In another letter written by Carew we find the following amusing passage: " If Archer have the art of conjuring, I think he hath not been idle ; but erelong I hope to conjure him———. The country of Beare is full of witches ; between them and Archer I do believe the devil hath been raised to serve their turn." Even in defeat the English feared him. They seemed to have believed that he possessed superhuman powers, that he could walk on the sea and fly through the air. His name should have been not Archer but " Archdevil " ! One can readily imagine the fate that awaited Archer, had he been captured. Shortly before this time he " was very near taken by a draught laid by the Lord Lieutenant, but unhappily escaped."

In a report of Robert Atkinson, an informer and pervert, we get another account of Archer's activities. He says that he met Archer in Ireland when the latter was " chief commander of the Irish troops, horse and foot." He also states that Archer commanded for his own guard as many men as he pleased, especially for " any bloody actions to be done upon the English Nation." There is no evidence to show that Archer ever took part with the Irish soldiers in the actual fighting. Atkinson further states that Archer was commonly called the Pope's Legate and was Archprelate over all the clergy of the provinces of Munster, Leinster and the territory of the O'Neills. By others, he says, he was called Tyrone's Confessor, just as formerly he had been Confessor to the Archduke of Austria. For the rest we shall let Atkinson speak for himself: " Of all the priests that ever were he is held for the most bloody and treacherous traitor, sure unto none in friendship that will not put his decrees in action by warrant of his Apostolic authority, as he calleth it, from time to time renewed by Bulls from Rome. He is grown to be so absolute that he holds the greatest Lords in such awe that none dare gainsay him."

Even at the eleventh hour Archer's hopes did not give way. On the 14 June 1602 he was again supplicating for Spanish aid. For the next few weeks he remained with the Irish soldiers at Dunboy. Finally, on July 6th, he left Ireland to induce the Spanish King to send another fleet to help a broken cause. He was more fortunate than his companion, Br. Dominic Collins, S.J., who was captured by the English and hanged in Cork on the 31 October 1602, being the third Jesuit to die for the Faith in Ireland.

Fr. Archer never again returned to Ireland. His life on the Continent

ve shall only review briefly. On the 6 May 1604 the General of the Jesuits ppointed him Prefect of the Irish Mission in Spain. This appointment s clear proof that his Superiors held him in the highest esteem. They aid little attention to the lying reports that had been spread over Eugland nd Ireland in an effort to blacken the reputation of one who was both a ealous priest and a great Irishman. In 1608, six years after his departure rom Ireland, his name was still feared by the English. At this time he vas accused of making preparations for another rebellion in Ireland. Chichester issued an order that spies be placed in various parts of the ountry to inform him of the arrival of Archer.

During all this time Fr. Archer was actively engaged in Spain as refect of the Irish Colleges. These Colleges were founded by Irish esuits at Salamanca, Lisbon, Santiago and Seville for the training of Irish ecular priests. In 1617 he was the oldest Irish Jesuit alive, being seventy-wo years of age. He was still Superior of the Mission in Spain. The date f his death is uncertain, but it occurred before 1626. Thus ended the areer of one of the most remarkable Jesuits who laboured on the Irish Mission during these years.

If we are to assess the value of Archer's work in Ireland or the magnitude f the task he set before himself, we must not leave out of account the ircumstances in which he lived. Although Archer's aim was first and remost spiritual, he saw clearly that political independence of England vas utterly essential to the religious welfare of Ireland. The idea of tolera-ion was not yet born in Europe. Neither Catholic nor Protestant was eady to brook the existence of the other. Even in Ireland the word Counter-Reformation" connoted not only a spiritual movement within nd without the Catholic Church, but also an effort to compel the return f erring souls by force of arms. Moreover the political and religious tate of Ireland itself must also be taken into account. For almost a century he country had been a prey to disunion and internal strife. Religion lso was not a vital force in the lives of the people. Had the persecution een as severe as it had been in England, or in other words had political ircumstances been favourable, Ireland might have succumbed to the ew doctrines. All these facts were well known to Fr. Archer when he rrived in Ireland in 1596. Thus we can understand why he strove to nite the country under O'Neill and to procure aid from Spain and he Pope.

Before concluding this article, it might not be out of place to discuss riefly how far Fr. Archer influenced the wars of O'Neill and, especially, he extent to which he influenced the Great Earl himself. One thing is ertain, that Fr. Archer was regarded by the English authorities as O'Neill's mbassador and representative not only at all the courts of the local Irish hieftains but in Spain and Rome. It is equally certain that he acted as ntermediary between the Irish and Spanish several times, and even for

years after the Irish collapse at Kinsale the English feared that he would again organize another Spanish expedition. Several years after that fatal day, the authorities had spies placed in all the Irish ports on the watch for Archer's return. Indeed many false alarms were given, and at one time the English actually believed that he had landed in Ireland. These precautions would not have been taken if the Government had not already experienced the powerful sway that Fr. Archer had over the people. How far were their fears justified? It is very probable that Hugh O'Neill did not realize what was at stake when he first launched his rebellion. In fact it seems that he would never have revolted had there been any alternative. What was he fighting for? An Irish Ireland, or a Catholic Ireland, or local independence? The problem has not yet been solved. But I think it is true to say that, whatever may have been his motive in starting the war, he never fully realized all that that war involved. Probably even he did not foresee that the struggle would take on a national aspect before its close; and it is far less likely that he realized that it would become part of a European campaign and would be looked upon by many nations on the Continent as just another element of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Moreover, if Hugh O'Neill did not realize all this, he would not have been able to combine all these forces in a vast movement against the common enemy. The problem could almost be stated thus: Was O'Neill the unconscious leader of a movement that was indeed begun by him, but whose consequences and ramifications he had not foreseen and perhaps did not even realize up to the last?

This question is difficult to answer. But I think some light is thrown on it by glancing at the part played by Fr. Archer in these crucial years. Immediately after his arrival in Ireland, Fr. Archer went direct to O'Neill, as we have seen. Coming from Spain, where he was well-known, he was suspected, probably rightly, of bringing a message from the Spanish Court. Soon after this he visited all the Irish chieftains, including O'Donnell, O'Sullivan Beare, Owny O'More, the Earl of Desmond, Florence Mac Carthy, James Fitzthomas (who claimed to be the Earl of Desmond), Lords Barry, Roche and Mountgarrett, as well as the Mayors of the southern towns—including Cork, Waterford and Kinsale. The mention of these three towns is significant. They are on the coast nearest Spain. Why did Archer visit these chieftains? The answer is obvious. From the outset, he regarded the struggle as a Catholic crusade against England. Therefore his policy was to unite all the Irish under O'Neill and, if possible, secure help from Spain and Rome. His aim and purpose, as well as the means to achieve the end, were clear and decisive—unlike those of Hugh O'Neill. And it is well to remember here that O'Neill's environment, even if we allow for a period spent in England, was mainly the local life and tradition of a petty chieftain of Ireland with all the narrowness that it entailed. While Archer's background was not only Irish tradition modified

by Anglo-Norman ancestry, but also an international education the best that Europe could offer, an almost first-hand realization of what the Reformation meant to Europe, a partiality for things Spanish with a natural bias against England, and finally a full comprehension of the danger to the Catholic religion in Ireland in an English domination there. Unfortunately we have little reliable evidence to guide us. But from the information we have I think we can safely affirm that Fr. Archer was responsible, at least partially, for the change of outlook that is so marked a feature in the development of O'Neill's character as the years went by. It is interesting to note that, in a report sent by the Bishops of Dublin and Meath to the King in June 1603, much of what I have said is corroborated. Having stated that O'Neill had revolted to defend his rights and privileges, they go on to assert that the Jesuits and other priests afterwards induced him to fight for the sake of the Catholic religion and to secure the aid of the Pope and King of Spain. In many other places in the official documents the Jesuits are blamed for spreading the revolt. We know now that, of the Jesuits of the time, only Fr. Archer exerted any direct political influence on a wide scale. To him, therefore, we largely attribute the change that took place. Thus, as the English realized only too well, " to have Archer taken were a great service to both the realms (England and Ireland), he being a capital instrument for Spain and the poison of Ireland."

Hated by the English, Fr. Archer won the hearts of the Irish, both rich and poor. In all the references to him there is not one which in any way tarnishes his memory, except those that come from the hands of his political enemies. Had the Irish been victorious at Kinsale, James Archer would probably have been one of the most influential men in the country. But after the defeat of 1601, his position in Ireland was even more invidious than that of O'Neill himself. The Great Earl could adapt himself to the new conditions and try to begin life all over again ; but for Archer there were no alternatives but death or exile. He had been looked upon by the English as the symbol of the rebellion in Ireland, and in his person he crystallized the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the Irish people. He stands forth as one of the foremost champions of his time of the Catholic religion in Ireland. By the English he was believed to be the source of all the discontent in the country. He was the emissary of the King of Spain, the Pope's ambassador and a member of the Society of Jesus. For him there could be no forgiveness.

JAMES CORBOY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXIX

Mág Shamhradháin .i. Niall †1362.

TADHG (Ó hUIGINN ?) cc

1. Fadógh ar gríosaigh gnaoi Néill ;
fuair nós nach tuillfe thoibhéim ;
is í as séad craoi dá chineadh ;
dá ghnaoi créad nar cuimhnigheadh ?

2. Feidhm dúthchasa dh'aicme an fhir
gan sgur d'fhadógh an einigh ;
tug n-a neimheasbhaidh nós mór
fós an t-eineachsain d'fhadógh.

3. Teine bheo nach báidh tuile
gnaoi athar fhir Challmhuighe ;
an ghnaoi leathansa d'fhleisg Náis
leathursa do theisd Tómáis.

4. Fada as léir a loise mhór
nír sguireadh fós gá fadógh ;
biaidh mar do bhaoi re treimhse
gnaoi Bhriain nocho báidheinnse.

5. Urusa a congbháil gan cheo
an ghnaoi as teine bheo bhithbheo ;
sí gan cheo bhíos do bhunadh
is gríos beo dá beathughadh.

6. Eineach Tómáis is teisd Bhriain,
gnaoi Néill dáibh i n-a deirbhshiair ;
flaith Cé ní cheileabhsa a nós
an t-eineachsa is é fhadós.

7. Connudh nach leigeann í as
a bha 's a eich 's a ionnmhas ;
a chrodh uadh ag gach ollamh
ar son nduan an deaghconnadh.

8. Nír héaradh roimhe im ní neach
le mac Briain Bheinne Coilctheach ;
ní mó do éar Niall a-nos
gach éan ag diall re dhúthchos.

9. Rug toirbheart n-a theinidh aoil
ar ghnaoi a chinidh flaith fionnGhaoil ;
nír sguir sé ag síorchur n-a ceann
lé gur díochradh an doicheall.

10. Mág Shamhradhán nar éar fhear
geall einigh fhuair ó chineadh ;
clú cuanna mar chlú a shinnsear
's ní chuala tú a thuirimhsean.

11. Ní obann Niall ní do dháimh ;
urusa le gual gabháil
ó bhíos teine ann re headh ;
ní mar chrann eile eisean.

12. Ní mar chách ag díol duaine
bhíos riamh gach fear fíoruaire ;
[do-ní] sé ceartas re cléir
an té chleachtas a coimhréir.

13. [Binn] le neach gach ní chleachtas ;
fairseang théid a thoirbheartas ;
mian le lachnaibh snámh le sreabh,
riar dámh charthair re chineadh.

14. Do charsad cliara Banbha
an fáilteach óg osgardha ;
tre bhile gcruithgheal gCaisil
cuirthear file i bhfiadhnaisibh.

15. Ní comhdhúthaigh dá gach cléir
an sduagh bhéalchorcra bhoinnréidh ;
ó bhíos áth ar tuile tonn
do chách uile ní hiononn.

16. Ní hionann dúthchas dúinne
's do Dhamh Ré fleasg fionnBhúille,
seach dhán gach dáimhe oile
lán dar ndáinne a dhuanoire.

17. A ghnaoi síolfad, ó só a-mach
úidh Taidhg oile ar Bhrian mBreaghach;
biaidh bham chion Niall a-nosa
Brian ba chion d'fhior m'anmosa.

18. Liom maoidhimh a nóis a-nois
mise is Tadhg do thuir Dhurlois
ar Niall do-chuaidh mo chrannsa
Niall bhus Bhrian [uaidh] agamsa.

19. Orlach ar Bhrian téid a theisd,
flaith Éirne an abhra bhairrleisg;
do bhí Brian ba bhladh roimhe
[go] rabh Niall ní as nósmhoire.

20. Mac Tomáis an taoibh leabhair
rug geall ó ghnaoi a chineadhaigh;
ní fhuighe magh mar Mhagh mBreagh
duine ní gar dá ghnaoisean.

21. Do shín tarrsa tuir Cheara
mar bhile ós bharr chraoibhfheadha
cuirid a [n-arm] faoi gach flaith
a ghnaoi ní [. . .] braith.

22. Geall ar uaisle is ar eineach
fuair uaidh cár . . .
. . . . na ngeilfhiodhbhadh
. . . . a thréan . . .

23. Teallach n-Eachach go hEochaidh
fan bhfleisg ngeil . . .
gnúis leathan . . .
. . . fa airdrígh.

24. Díreach leanfad a lorg soin
ó Eachaidh mhór mhac Maonoigh
go ndeach go Fearghna bhfleadhach
an chleath mheardha mhuirearach.

25. Géag cubhra dar mac Maonach
Baithín na n-arm n-órchraobhach;
prap dá [téachtfholaibh] gach tír
le mac mbéaltanaidh mBaithín.

26. Mac Bréanainn ba binn meadhar
Baithín na mbas ngéigleabhar,
clann Bhréanainn a dteisd tárraidh
gon fhleisg shéaghoinn shoghrádhaigh.

27. Mac d'Fhearghna na n-each sotal
Bréanainn ba bog tiodhlocadh ;
an Fearghna[sain] ní théid troigh
don ghéig [neamhfhrasaigh] neartmhoir.

28. Méin Fhearghna agus Aodha Finn
fa mhac dTomáis ro thimchill ;
clann mhórRuairc an fine fial
fa bhile nglórshuairc nGailian.

29. Eochaidh Doimhléan fa dheirc nglais
Colla Uais fa fhear nDurlais
fríoth dá ghnúis chorcra choimhréidh
cúis mholta as a mháthoirmhéin.

30. Do iadhadar uair nó [a] dó
ba dhreich mbuig mar bhlath ndonnchnó
clann ghealCholla taoibh re taoibh
ba chraoibh n-Eachdhroma ó Éadaoin.

31. D'iomad ríogh ba rosg n-uaine
dh'uaislibh catha Craobhruaidhe
do chomhnaoidhigh caoin a ball
do chraoibh fhorbhfhaoilidh Arann.

32. Aigheadh as áluinn oirniamh
aige d'uaislibh saorOirghiall ;
casmhail aoibh aighthe an deighfhir
re caoir ngairthe a guailteinidh.

33. Déad gléigheal ar gné na sgath
fuair ó Cholla chláir Theamhrach ;
ruisg corra fan gcéibh gcaissin
méin an Cholla chéadnaisin.

34. Dá abhra dhonna ó Aodh Fhionn,
dá dheirc gorma ag géig Raoilionn,
dá ghlaic leabhra ag léim chagaidh
do mhéin Fhearghna abhradhuibh.

35. Glún corr nar cuireadh ar ais
aige ós chionn chalptha solais,
míontraigh óg ag ú Earca
le líontair bróg bhláithghreanta.

36. Cáraid shliasad réidh roigheal,
bruinne mar bhláth gcaoldroighean,
ucht dealbhchaomh dar dírgheadh rann
seangthaobh míngheal mar mheamram.

37. O fhuair geall a ghnúis amlach
ar ghurm a dhearc ndonnabhrach,
ar chleith Cláire nír cinneadh
ar áille deich ndoinningean.

38. Béal corcra nach creid banfháidh,
rosg mall ag Mág Shamhradháin ;
ní hinghill dream re dheilbh sin
fearr a fheidhm iná a fhaigsin.

39. Féachfaidhear fulang a lann
lá an tachair re tuir gCualann ;
d'aithle Néill fhuair a haithdeilbh
ó bhéim chruaidh [a] chlogaidfheilm.

40. Rug a [seadh] a slait chorcra
tarraing eolach arrochta
ag dáil chrann d'iobhraibh an fhir
acht barr fiodhraidh ní faicthir.

41. Cuiridh bas óigfhir Eine
sníomh i gcrann a chraoisighe ;
do chomhchasfadh mar an gcrann
le orcharsan a hiarann.

42. Snámhaidhe as fhearr n-a aimsir
an sduagh dhéidgheal dearcmhaillsin ;
is uidhe ar tír do mhnaoi mhoill
ar shnaoi ó thír don abhoinn.

43. Mac Tomáis mheic Bhriain Breaghaigh,
mheic Dhonnchaidh mhóir mhéirleabhair,
ag a riar ní chéala a chrodh,
cliar dh'éara nochon fhéadfadh. Fad

44. Dath gríoscha ar a gnúis n-amlaigh
inghean Cathail chreacharnaidh ;
slios geal [uas] an ngeal sneachta
far fhear d'fhios a haigeanta.

45. Geall gach ríoghna [. . .]
inghean chorcra í Chonchubhair ;
inghean [Ailbhe] ar aoi a féile
gnaoi Shaidhbhe [nír] shoidhréime ;
a tiodhlaicthe gach laoi ar lón
do ghnaoi fionnmhaicne is fadógh. F.

Translation

Niall's glory is as blazing embers ; he has won fame beyond reproach ; fame is his race's heirloom ; what instance of it has not been fully recorded ?
An inborn instinct of his race is in kindling hospitality unceasingly ; this in turn brings about glory abounding.
A live unquenched fire was the popularity of the father of Calmhagh's Hero ; the wide popularity of the Wand of Nás (Niall) strengthens the witness to Tómás.
Clear from afar is Brian's popularity, it is never quenched and ceases not to blaze ; as it has been now for long, so shall it be ever.
That popularity, that ever-living fire, is easy to keep bright-flaming ; it has no smoke dimming it, live embers ever feed it.
Tómás' hospitality, Brian's fame—Niall's popularity is sister to these ; I will not hide the glory of Cé's Prince keeping hospitality ever aflame.
The firewood keeping it alight is his cattle and steeds and treasure ; the kine given each poet by him for poems is that good firewood.
No man was ever refused aught by (Tómás) the son of Brian of Beann Coilctheach ; neither did Niall refuse ; every bird follows its nature.
The generosity of the Prince of Gaol, a very kiln-fire, has won his race's favour ; he ceases not to add to the pile, and so all niggardliness has been destroyed.
Mág Shamhradháin refusing no man has outdone his race in hospitality ; thou hast not heard described any noble glory like that of his ancestors.
Niall refuses naught to poets ; as the fire is already alight 'tis easy for the coal to go on burning ; it is like no other wood.
The man who regularly does so (?) is not like other men who pay for a poem ; he who is accustomed to maintain poets is doing his duty by them.
One gets to like what one is used to, ducks like swimming with stream ; so Niall's bestowal of gifts goes lavishly on ; maintenance of poets is dear to his race.
Banbha's poets always loved this young splendid hospitable prince ; by (praise of) him, Caiseal's shapely Tree, each poet becomes known.
Not equally at home to all poets is this red-lipped smooth-footed prince ; when a ford is on flooded stream some folk (i.e. those who use it) are better off than others.
I am not of the same stock as this Ox of Ré, this Wand from the fair Búill, yet, his *Duanaire* has more poetry from my race than from any other poet-band.
'Tis his popularity which I am about to proclaim ; another Tadhg treated of Brian of Breagha ; one of my name took Brian for his theme, Niall will be my theme.
'Tis our part, Tadhg's and mine, to proclaim the glory of a Prince of Durlas ; Niall falls to my lot ; for me Niall shall be what Brian was for him.
Eirne's high stately-browed Prince surpasses by a little Brian in renown ; Brian was glorified in the past so that Niall's glory might be the greater.
The graceful son of Tómás has outdone the popularity of his kinsman ; thou canst find no plain like Breagha Plain, and so no man approaches him in glory.
The Prince of Ceara surpassed them all as a big tree soars over the top of a branching wood ; every prince lowers sword before him . . .
Only shortly shall I trace their line from Eochaidh son of Maonach back to banqueting Fearghna, hero of quick temper and great retinue.
Baithín of the gold-chased weapons was the fragrant branch whose son was Maonach ; all the land awoke from lethargy when came Baithín's thin-lipped son.

26. Son of sweet-voiced Bréanainn was long-armed Baithín; the fame of Bréanainn's stock was acquired by this courteous lovable prince.
27. Lavish Bréanainn was son of Fearghna of the spirited steeds; even Fearghna surpasses no whit this strong branch of Heaven-sent (?) showers.
28. The character of Fearghna and Aodh Fionn are in the lineage of Tómás' son; the race of great Ruarc, that generous stock, are in the lineage of the joyous-faced Tree of the Gailiain.
29. Eochaidh Doimhléan is a forbear of this blue eye, and Colla Uais is forbear of the Man of Durlas; his nature on his mother's side gives good cause for praise of his red smooth face.
30. Colla's stock, too more than once closed in on (i.e. formed part of) the ancestry of this face, tender as hazel-flower, this Branch of Eachdhruim, Éadaoin's grandson.
31. Owing to the many kings, nobles of the host of Craobhruadh, who were ancestors of this grey-eyed warrior, the surface of his body is ever bright on this joyous Branch of Ara.
32. He has his face of great beauty from the nobles of noble Oirghialla; the charm on the hero's face is like a blazing lump from a coal-fire.
33. White, bright-blooming teeth he has from Colla of the Plain of Teamhair; his round eyes 'neath curling hair are the nature of this Colla (showing in him).
34. This Branch of Raoile gets his two dark eye-brows and his two grey eyes from Aodh Fionn; his two long arms that seek fight he gets from the nature of dark-browed Fearghna.
35. Earc's scion has a round unbending knee over his bright calf, and an active small foot filling brightly ornamented shoes.
36. He has two smooth white sides, a breast like delicate hawthorn's bloom, a shapely chest subject of many a verse, a graceful body smooth and bright as vellum.
37. As his handsome face excels in the blue of his eyes 'neath their dark brows, so too this Pillar of Cláire is unsurpassed for the beauty of his ten bright finger-nails.
38. Red the lips, stately the eye of Mág Shamhradháin whose like no prophetess foretold; no folk shows a form like his, his deeds are even greater than his beauty.
39. On battle-day Niall, the Tower of Cualann, will test the toughness of his lances, and when he has worn it, his helmet will be found battered by hard blows.
40. This wise strong leader (?) makes good use of red staff (?) placing (men with) spears in his wood (?); only the outside of the wood can be seen (?).
41. The hand of this Youth of Eine can make his spear-shaft spin; he can make its steel (head) spin like the shaft when he shoots it.
42. The white-toothed noble-eyed hero is the best swimmer of his time; the distance in the river which he swam would be a journey for a stately lady on the land.
43. This son of Tómás son of Brian Breaghach son of great smooth-fingered Donnchadh will not stint his wealth when providing for poets; he can not refuse them aught.
44. The daughter of bold-raiding Cathal, girl whose skin is white beyond whiteness of snow—a bright ember's glow is on her lovely face when (in giving gifts) she lets folk see her (generous) nature.
45. The face of Ó Conchobhair's blooming daughter is fairer than any queen's; the love which this Sadhbh, this daughter of Ailbhe, wins by her generosity cannot be rivalled; her gifts are our daily sustenance; she is the renewal of a fair race's glory.

Notes

Mag. MS. p. 49. The author is probably Tadhg Ó hUiginn, *cf*stt. 16-7.
1*b*. -fea *c*. isiisead 2*a*. duch. 3*c*. dlesg *d*. du the. 4*c*. da bai *d*. Br., bai. 5*c*. du bhu. *d*. du bea. 6*c*. Che 7*c*. agach *d*. deacondad 8*b*. *leg*. m'Br ? *c*. da; annos *d*. duch. 9*a*. -nedh ail *d*. -cill 12*a*. daine *c*. *illeg*; ri 13*a*. *illeg*. *b*. thed 14*c*. cr. Cha. 15*a*. du gach *c*. *leg* dtonn ? *d*. du cach 16*a*. duch *b*. sdu daimh ri fl. fhi. 17*b*. Thaidhg *c*. annosa 18*a*. *leg*. Linn ? ; nois annois *b*. du ; Du. *c*. da chu. *d*. uaibh 19*c*. du bhi *d*. gc 20*a*. *leg*. Tho.? *c*. -ghea 21*a*. Cea. *c*. nairm *d*. *indist*. 22*bcd*. *illeg*. 23*bcd*. *illeg*. 24b. mor *c*. Fhl. 25*c*. techtbhadha *d*. beltana 26*c*. Br. dutes: *d*. lesg tsea. tso. 27*c*. -suin *d*. nemhruisil 28*a*. Fghna (u *over* F) *b*. To. 29*a*. Eocho *c*. co. coi. *d*. mol. 30*a*. da ; a *abest* *c*. gea. 31b. *leg*. chatha : *c*. da *d*. du ; -rbha- 32*b*. shaer. *d*. ri 33*c*. ce. ca. *d*. in Cho. cea 34*b*. a geg 35*b*. cionn ca- 36*a*. sli. *b*. ca. 37*c*. *leg*. gClái. 38*a* chor.. bhanaigh *d*. inaigsin 39*b*. Cu. *d*. caidh (u *over* c) du chlo. 40*a*. seagh . cor. *c*. cr. *d*. ach 41*b*. a cr. a cr. *c*. mar a cr. 42*a*. -aighe *b*. dei *c*. du mhn. *d*. ar nai ; dan abh. 43*a*. *leg*. Tho. ; Bri. ; *leg*. Bhrea. ? *b*. Do. 44*b*. Ca. *c*. iuas *or* inas ; a geal 45*a*. *illeg*. *d*. Saidhbhe ni soi.

REVIEWS

Scripture

E BOOK OF ISAIAH. Translated from a critically revised Hebrew Text with Commentary. By Rev. E. J. Kissane, D.D., L.S.S. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1943. Vol. II (XL-LXVI). Pp. lxxiv–328. 21s.

:s handsome volume contains Dr. Kissane's Introduction, Translation and nmentary to the second part of the Book of Isaias, cc. XL–LXVI. It is a worthy ıpanion to the preceding volume on Isaias cc. I–XXXIX, recently reviewed ɛ, and is assured by its intrinsic merits of a similar favourable reception from pture scholars of all schools. The general plan of the work is similar to that ts predecessor. Here too we find the same wealth of erudition and the same rness of exposition in the discussion of the various problems raised by the ject matter. The author's conclusions on vexed questions lean to the con- ·ative side, but are always the fruit of close study and bear the stamp of personal viction. The freshness of outlook and constructive character of the commentary ɛe it a very valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

The most original aspect of Dr. Kissane's study is his effort to discover a unity ɔlan in the second part of Isaias by a close analysis of its contents. Such a dis- ɛry would not only facilitate the understanding of the contents of Isaias cc. -LXVI, but would also establish the unity of authorship, rejected for the most t by recent critics. He finds the whole work divided into ten sections, each which contains three separate poems having a certain unity of theme. The end ɛach section is marked by a " tail-piece," consisting of from two to eight verses not forming part of the immediately preceding poem, as it does not fit into strophic structure. The sections thus constituted deal with various aspects the central theme, Israel's deliverance from the Babylonian captivity and ɔnstitution as a nation with a mission of salvation to mankind.

In discussing the value of this discovery it seems to me that a distinction must made between the intrinsic merits of the analysis of the poems and extrinsic aids riads, tail-pieces and strophic theory by which the results of the analysis are firmed. The only instances of tail-pieces known to me in Hebrew poetry are refrains, which mark the end of each strophe in some poems, and the doxologies, ch terminate the first four of the five books into which the Psalms are divided. ɛse are easily determined as tail-pieces by their isolated character and their ilarity or identity of form. We have no similar mode of determination in the ɛent case. The tail-pieces are really determined by the fact that they do not nto the strophic theory. But this theory is at best an hypothesis and is not ɔmmended by its rigidity. It does not allow for the fact that the conclusion well as the commencement of a poem may stand outside the strophic structure. This seems to me to be the natural explanation of the first tail-piece, XLII, 12, where the Gentiles, represented by the nations to the east and west of stine, are bidden to rejoice, obviously because of the servant of Jahweh declared the first time to be " The Light of the Gentiles " in the short preceding poem, II, 1–9. Dr. Kissane makes this poem a part of the preceding one, contrary ɔe opinion of commentators in general, and thus gets three instead of four poems his first section. One might accept his view if one could agree with him in ɛrpreting the servant of Jahweh collectively as Israel instead of individually as Messias, but that interpretation seems to me rather improbable. The second piece, XLVI, 23, admits a similar explanation and shows at the same time a ɛkness in the strophic theory. The last strophe of the preceding poem is in- issible as a strophe, because it treats of two different subjects instead of one. first five verses deal with idol-worship, the general theme, but the last three

deal with the election and redemption of Israel. The change of subject and the opening words, " Remember these things O Israel, " show that they begin the conclusion of the poem, which is terminated in the tail-piece—also consisting of three verses and also treating of the redemption of Israel. The last three tail-pieces, being summaries of the poems which immediately precede, have also the appearance of conclusions. A few tail-pieces, which do not fit in with this explanation, may have been detached from their original context by the editor of the poems. Some textual alterations of this kind have certainly been made and most commentators, including Dr. Kissane, transpose a certain number of passages.

The general determination of the plan of the work is more solid and becomes more convincing when viewed apart from strophic theory, triads and tail-pieces which are mere accessories and considered solely on the basis of the demarcation and analysis of the various poems and the study of their interconnection. Here however certainty is scarcely attainable, partly owing to the fact that the present arrangement of the book is the work of an editor and does not represent exactly its original form and still more because the sequence of thought is not clear enough to allow of a certain determination of the individual poems, as appears from the different results obtained by different commentators. But a theory like that of Dr Kissane, which reveals a unity of plan in the whole work, is most likely to be correct and provides at all events an excellent foundation for the exposition of the text.

The second part of Isaias is chiefly interesting to us for the magnificence of its Messianic prophecies. These are of two kinds, namely descriptions of the Church, truly Catholic in its extension to all the nations of the earth, under the figure of the New Sion, to which all the Gentiles throng, and delineations of the future Messias, who " took the form of a servant " and suffered and died for our sins, under the figure of the despised and afflicted but finally triumphant servant of Jahweh. Dr. Kissane does full justice to the prophecies on the New Sion and to the fourth and most important of those on the servant of Jahweh. But he departs from the common Catholic interpretation of the expression " Servant of Jahweh " by understanding it to designate literally, not the Messias, but the people of Israel in the first two poems (XLII, 1 sq. and XLIX, 1 sq.) and the prophet Isaias in the third (L, 4–9). He holds, however, that the first two poems are Messianic and that the Messias is implicitly indicated as that one of the people of Israel who will fulfil the prophecy, just as he is implicitly indicated under the collective term " seed of the woman " according to the more common interpretation of Genesis III, 15. He can appeal too to the authority of St. John Chrysostom and St. Thomas for his interpretation of the servant of Jahweh as indicating Isaias directly and the Messias typically in the third poem. It is only therefore from the purely exegetical point of view that his interpretation can be contested.

The first argument against the collective interpretation of the servant as the people of Israel in the first two poems is that his mission is twofold, to the people of Israel and to the Gentiles. This is verified in the case of the Messias, but is not verified in the case of the people of Israel, since it seems absurd to speak of them as charged with a mission to themselves. Dr. Kissane replies: " There is indeed a distinction between the servant and the restored kingdom of Israel, just as elsewhere there is a distinction made between Sion and her children in exile (XLIX, 14 ff; LIV, 1 ff.; LX, 4–9). The nation in exile will return and restore the kingdom of Sion, and in this sense Jahweh's servant (Israel in exile) has a mission to Israel." There is a fallacy in the comparison. Sion is not the people of Israel, but the city of Jerusalem, personified as the spouse of Jahweh and the Mother of the people of Israel. It is always clearly distinguished from the Israelites, its children. The servant in the collective sense is the people of Israel without any figure of speech. The exiles may return and rebuild their metropolis, but they can scarcely receive

ıission to themselves to be fulfilled after their return. It is unnatural to identify missioner who is sent with the people to whom he is sent.

The mission to Israel, which Jahweh assigns to the Servant, is " to bring back ob to Him," according to the second poem (XLIX, 4), and is thus evidently ssianic. Elsewhere in XLII, 6 and XLIX, 6 it is expressed in terms which might e the same meaning or might indicate instead the reconstitution of Israel as ıation after the captivity. Dr. Kissane prefers the latter sense and seeks, by ring and transposing the text of XLIX, 4, to eliminate the former as being in ıtradiction with it. But surely the missions of national restoration and of spiritual ıversion, if both intended, are not contradictory and there is no difficulty in igning the former mission to the Messias, since all the benefits bestowed by God Israel were granted in view of Him and through His merits. It is a well-known ıaracteristic of the prophetic office that future events are often seen in the same spective without distinction of period. In the Emmanuel prophecies the Messias regarded as operative in the work of temporal deliverance, and the land of Israel called the land of Emmanuel.

The description of the Servant, who is characterised by gentleness and charity, ience and constancy in his mission, which he successfully accomplishes with aid of Jahweh, contrasts with that of Israel as depicted by Isaias. Dr. Kissane ets this difficulty by identifying the Servant, not with the sinful and incredulous ael of the captivity, but with the purified Israel of the restoration. But the change the better in post-exilic Israel hardly went beyond the avoidance of national olatry, and the nation in general was never distinguished by the particular virtues ribed to the Servant. Nor was Israel ever characterised by zeal and success the conversion of the Gentiles. On the contrary, even the proselytes of the post-ilic period were kept at the gate instead of being admitted to the fold, and in the rly days of the Church, St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles encountered considerable position even from Jewish Christians.

The third poem neither mentions the Servant by name nor indicates his mission the Gentiles. It presents an aspect in the career of the Messias, namely the rsecutions which he encounters and the patience with which he endures them, ıich develops the theme of the first two poems and links them with the narrative his passion and death in the fourth poem. It certainly refers to an individual, t a collectivity, and has such resemblances to the first two poems as induce e commentators generally to group it with them. Obviously one, who like Dr. ssane regards the Servant of these poems as a collectivity, will not be able to ıch the same conclusion. Against his theory, that the individual in question was e prophet himself, one might object that a prophet of good news, as he was, would ırcely be the object of violent persecution, such as was usually visited only on ose who denounced the sins of the people and foretold their chastisement.

This lengthy discussion of the problem of the Servant of Jahweh may seem t of place in a short review, but will be excused, it is hoped, by the importance the subject from the apologetical and theological point of view and by the fact ıt Dr. Kissane's somewhat cursory treatment of it reveals a certain lacuna in otherwise excellent commentary. The theological student, who consults it for lightenment on the question in which he is most interested, will be disappointed. will find no allusion to the citations from and references to the Servant poems the New Testament and in Patristic literature. He will get no account of the ıg controversy between Jews and Christians on the collective or individual in-pretation of the Servant and the entry of the Rationalists into the debate, at st unanimously on the side of the Jews but later with growing majority on the e of the Christians. He will not be informed of the arguments put forward in e works of recent Catholic commentators like Condamin and Fischer. Dr. Kissane

has given us an excellent critical and exegetical commentary. It may seem ungracious to desire more. But the Holy Father, in his recent magnificent Encyclical on Scripture Studies, has stressed the importance of the theological element in Catholic commentaries; and it is especially with regard to the Messianic prophecies that St. Augustine's famous epigram on the relation between the two Testaments has its chief application: "*Novum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet.*"

E. POWER

BIOGRAPHY

CARDINAL HINSLEY. A Memoir. By John C. Heenan, D.D. London: Burns Oates. 1944. 8s. 6d.

NOBODY will expect this short memoir to be anything more than a personal tribute from one of the late Cardinal's fellow-workers to a man who filled an almost unique position in modern English life. A personal tribute—but also an essay in interpretation and explanation. For Dr. Heenan knows well that Cardinal Hinsley had many critics, and he is refreshingly outspoken on certain controversial issues. Irish Catholics will probably read this volume with mixed feelings. They would be less than human if they were not irritated by the skill with which Dr. Heenan has contrived, once more, to conceal from the average English reader any knowledge of the simple fact that this English Cardinal had an Irish mother. The book opens with the scene at the funeral in Westminster Abbey; it closes with a very moving account of the Cardinal's last illness. (He died on St. Patrick's Day 1943). Here and there allusion is made to some earlier episode in Arthur Hinsley's career as student or young priest. But there is nowhere any account of his birthplace or family origins. The Cardinal seems to have entered this world "the son of None."

Once that initial grievance has been stated, it is only fair to congratulate Dr. Heenan on the candour with which he has sought to bring home to his readers the character and personal convictions of Cardinal Hinsley. Hasty, impulsive, indiscreet from time to time in his public utterances, lacking in most of the minor ecclesiastical virtues (if in truth they are virtues at all)—Arthur Hinsley was most obviously a lovable and sincere man. And that essential gift won him his hold on the average Englishman of his day. There is a full account here of the most famous of the Cardinal's indiscretions—the sermon in which he called the Pope "a helpless old man"—but there are many other utterances that have the ring of truth and sincere conviction.

Among the many speeches and essays here reprinted, I call attention to an address which the Archbishop delivered, soon after his arrival in Westminster, to the survivors of the famous Dock Strike which had given Manning his opportunity in 1889. Arthur Hinsley had been a young man in his twenties in 1889, and he had been a student in Rome when Leo XIII issued his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum.* The same enthusiasm which made him so eager to have an advance copy of that document on the very day of publication was with him when he accepted the invitation to dine with Ben Tillett and the other survivors of those heroic days. Here is part of what he said to them:—

"I am a worker myself and the son of a working man; but I belong to the Church which offers to the high born and to the lowly equal regard and equal opportunities. More readily, then, can I understand the spirit of sympathy which Manning had for the toilers in this country and the world over . . . Like most of you I know that my days are growing few; I cannot have many more years of work ahead of me. 'The night is coming when no man may work!' But I still wish to use every atom of the strength left me, and every month of the years God may allow me, in the service of those whom He has in a special way commended or entrusted

me; be they Protestant or Catholic, Socialist, Communist or Capitalist—by ıtever name they be known—in the service of sinner quite as much as saint."
Small wonder that those present rose to their feet and toasted "The Archbishop."
Cardinal Hinsley was more insistent than most other prelates in England on need of combating Communist influence from whatever quarter it might come.
Heenan, who knows the B.B.C. from inside, makes this candid comment in of his later chapters: "The more experience the Cardinal had of Broadcasting ıse, the less he liked it." He was willing to make allowances for much of their paganda; but he "would have preferred a more Christian inspiration in the :f source of public instruction in an ostensibly Christian country." That brings :o the problems of the Sword of the Spirit. Dr. Heenan states the case for that vement in full detail and with authentic documents. Let each reader judge himself.
The Cardinal's pronouncements on the rights of Catholic education are most)ressive—and indeed one of the most illuminating sections of this book is the trait here given of Dr. Hinsley as President of the English College at Rome the contrast between his unconventional ways and the more formal "Sulpician" ditions of Cardinal Bourne. We get a brief glimpse of earlier days when young her Hinsley was the despair of his less strenuous colleagues at Ushaw; and ı mysterious but obviously serious quarrel at Bradford where he had been chosen organise a Catholic Grammar School, but was so impulsively zealous in his ions that he resigned from the School and was incardinated in the diocese of ıthwark sooner than remain in his native diocese of Leeds. Some day no doubt shall hear the facts of that early quarrel. Here we may simply note them as dence that the Cardinal was alive to the needs, the increasingly urgent needs English Catholic Schools.
Dr. Heenan makes another startlingly candid confession when he states that "the : of impending injustice" in this crucial question of the schools may have tened the Cardinal's end. To quote Dr. Heenan more fully: "He had served country well. No government could doubt the whole-hearted support given the Catholic section of the public during the national crisis. The Cardinal sonally had spent himself in the attempt to rouse his countrymen to a sense national peril. He found it hard to believe that any British Government would vard him by refusing to allow to Catholic citizens that full freedom which they l pledged their lives to preserve."
It is tempting to multiply quotations. Cardinal Hinsley's attitude to the secuted Jews is here illustrated; also his attitude to the Catholics in Poland. his attitude towards Irish problems no more is said than a brief but outspoken nment on his indignation at what seemed to him rank injustice in the Six Counties. ; intervention on behalf of the men who were condemned to death in Belfast also noted. On general international politics there is much that is familiar to us Cardinal Hinsley was an outspoken critic of the Totalitarian States. It is y right to note the warmth with which he commended Professor Binchy's book *Church and State in Fascist Italy*. "The Cardinal studied Binchy's lengthy ume with meticulous attention . . . He thought that nobody who needed to under- nd the problems of government in the Universal Church could afford to neglect s treatise."
Where there is so much that is controversial, it is pleasant to end on a note of vnright, simple charity. One of the Cardinal's last appeals was his broadcast mon for Youth Sunday on April 26, 1942. He was ill, and he felt the strain preparation; he suffered a violent heart attack a few minutes before the hour the broadcast. But he refused all advice to abandon the sermon, took one of his lets and preached on the text: "I write unto you, young men, because you are

strong." His sermon was a direct appeal to all the traditions of the Christian past. It contained, as was frequent in the Cardinal's pronouncements, some outspoken comments on the dangers of birth-control in modern England. Dr. Heenan quotes four letters which the Cardinal had kept from among the many that came in by post after this sermon. All were from non-Catholics, to whom he had made a special appeal. One was from a Squadron Leader in his own name and in the name of his Bomber Crew. " High up in that moonlit sky, with the sea below glistening like silver, we recalled your statement that God's greatest gift to us was the joy of youth and that the greatest gift we could offer to God was our service of youth. We re-dedicated our lives anew to God and asked Him to accept our youth for His service. Please do remember us in your prayers . . . We shall pray often for you, Sir."

If you want to know what quality in Cardinal Hinsley gave him that power to make an appeal with such moving force, the answer would seem to be simple—the Charity of Christ. P. D.

THE SONG OF TEKAKWITHA (*Venerable Kateri Tekakwitha*). By Robert E. Holland, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press. 1942. $2.50.

THE life of Tekakwitha is enthralling not only because it is an authentic tale of Indian heroism, but also because it embodies to an unusual degree the dramatic unities. She was the daughter of a Mohawk chief who had married in Homeric fashion his captive, a Christian girl of the Algonquins. Tekakwitha was born in Ossernenon, the very village where ten years earlier St. Isaac Jogues had been martyred. Her parents died of smallpox when she was yet a child, though not before her mother had taught her of God and vaguely of the Catholic religion. Yet vague as was the instruction, it so moved Tekakwitha that she devoted herself to God by a resolution (later a vow) of virginity, which she never forsook. When we consider her constancy to her resolution, despite the well-intentioned persecution of her aunt and others to induce her to marry, we must marvel at the sense of vocation produced by grace in a pagan.

Pock-marked and weak of sight, Tekakwitha lived with this aunt after the death of her parents. She was thirteen when war broke out with the French in reprisal for the murders of many palefaces in the forests by the Iroquois braves. After a gallant resistance the strongholds of the Mohawks were taken and razed. The conditions of peace included the restoration of the Blackrobe mission in the new village. Tekakwitha knew the Blackrobes at once as spiritually her own people. And for her innocence and fervour she was baptised after an unprecedentedly brief catechumenate. One can understand the persecution that followed, prompted by a confusion between allegiance to the palefaces and conversion to their religion. Even the children stoned her, and once a young brave invaded her hut to slay her with his tomahawk—only to shrink from he knew not what mysterious holiness at the last moment. Tekakwitha bore these trials as all the saints have borne them, yielding to everyone everything but her resolve.

But the Blackrobes had founded a settlement for converts who wished to live in an exclusively Catholic community opposite the river-island of Montreal. Thence every year some of the converts would issue to preach to the pagan tribes in the surrounding country. One group came to the Mohawks, including a converted kinsman of Tekakwitha's. Secretly he invited her to join the Montreal settlement and she, with consent of her own Blackrobe pastor, eagerly agreed. But hardly had they set out when Tekakwitha's terrible uncle, Onsigongo, chief of the Mohawks, got wind of the flight. (Actually his name has been forgotten; but we agree with Fr. Holland: it must have been Onsigongo; nothing else will do). Immediately this uncle set out after them at a sprint, tomahawk in hand and murder in heart.

ut he only found two hunters smoking their pipes and astonished at his suspicion at his niece was with them. In the subsequent contest of poker-faces Onsigongo as worsted and returned to look for his niece in his village. Then the hunters tired a few paces, removed the mound of leaves from Tekakwitha, and with her roceeded to the settlement.

There Tekakwitha lived for four more years a life of prayer, penance, and (it pleasant to add) hard hunting, and there she died, worn out with austerities, 1680, in her twenty-fourth year. None of the saints more perfectly qualified for aven by retaining the single-mindedness of a child. Now her life has been declared roic, and Fr. Holland and others are preparing the documents necessary to intro- uce the cause of her beatification. All will wish them success from their hearts.

This is the exquisite history narrated in verse by Fr. Holland, for which his revious labours have earned him election as Chief of the Mohawks. He makes o pretence to be a great poet, but his ardour for Tekakwitha and his power to nagine the very experience of being a redskin, helped by exact knowledge, have roduced a poem. It is written in the metre of the ancient Finnish *Kalevala*, orrowed by Longfellow for *Hiawatha*. But Longfellow substituted for the im- ressive ferocity of the *Kalevala* a somewhat Jean-Jacobite conception of noble vagery, and told his story in the charming, imaginative, but occasionally un- ammatical English of the redskin. Fr. Holland deliberately and skilfully imitates m, producing a poem marked by its daintiness. It is doubtful whether such a ark can ever do justice to the achievement of any saint; for the saint's abdication the sweetness of this world is a stern thing. It is heroic; it is therefore terrible, r it is a martyrdom. But it is ungrateful to ask for more when we are given so uch. Fr. Holland's work (beautifully illustrated by the way) holds the attention om first to last. Beside his heroine Atala is as unreal as a doll and Fenimore ooper's "Saint Tammany" a man of straw. She also proves the thwarted ossibilities of an ill-starred and, some will think, a deeply wronged race. A.L.

Celtica

ATALOGUE OF IRISH MANUSCRIPTS IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE LIBRARY. Part 1. Contents of Murphy Manuscripts, 1-10. By Rev. Paul Walsh, M.A. Magh Nuadhat: Cuallacht Chuilm Chille. 1943. 5s.

LL who are interested in Irish studies will rejoice at the publication of this first scicule of a catalogue of the large collection of Irish manuscripts preserved in aynooth. In 1926 Dr. Robin Flower completed the second volume of the Catalogue Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum. In the same year Professor T. F. 'Rahilly began the great work of describing the Irish manuscripts in the Royal ish Academy. His work has been carried on to the present day by other scholars, d the last published fascicule brings the number of pages of printed catalogue 3,500. We understand that at present catalogues are being prepared for the ish manuscript collections in the Franciscan Convent, Merchant's Quay and r the collection in the National Library.

It will be noted that this first fascicule of the Maynooth Catalogue is the work the late Fr. Paul Walsh. From the Preface contributed by Fr. Máirtín Ó Lainn, inaidhe, we learn that, assisted at the time by members of *Cuallacht Chuilm Chille*, . Paul Walsh worked between 1927 and 1935 at the preparation of a catalogue the Murphy manuscripts. At the time of his death he left behind him an un- vised catalogue of the Murphy manuscripts numbered 1 to 58. The *Cuallacht* s now undertaken to edit and publish this *Nachlass* of Fr. Walsh and, we may hope, complete the work which he began.

The fascicule under review describes the first ten of the Murphy manuscripts. These are from the early nineteenth century and are mainly the work of scribes of the Ó Longáin family and of Seán Ó Muláin. One of the manuscripts (No. 8) is mainly religious in content. The other nine contain for the most part secular poetry of the Bardic period and of later times. Scattered throughout them all there is much of the *bric-à-brac* so characteristic of later Irish manuscripts—curious odds and ends, verses for various occasions, good wishes and bad. These pieces are often amusing and throw much light on the ordinary life of the Irish folk of the time. A collection and study of them would reveal an even more hidden Ireland situate somewhere midway between the stratosphere of the less critical eulogists and the lower regions of contempt of officialdom and the patronising tourist.

Many a page of this catalogue is enhanced by Fr. Walsh's great knowledge of Irish families and places. But the work, as the Preface tells us, was not completed or revised by him. The editors have added nothing except marks of length and the numbers of stanzas in poems where that was necessary. They specifically refrained from other additions and, in particular, from adding references to printed literature. Their motive—*pietas erga magistrum*—will be appreciated by all. Nonetheless, I would suggest that in future fascicules the editors should not hesitate to add whatever they judge useful and necessary—*incipits* (if omitted), informative colophons in full, references to printed literature and to other catalogues. I would suggest too, that they should print at the beginning of the description of each manuscript the century to which it belongs, the format of the manuscript, and (if possible) a head-word which would indicate the content in a general way. The matter added by the editors of Fr. Walsh's work could be marked as such.

One other suggestion. Mention was made above of the odds and ends which occur so frequently and which must be the bugbear of catalogues. These are usually single quatrains, and the custom has been to print the first line and to add a few words to describe the item. In the case of such quatrains I suggest that it would add to the interest of the catalogue to print them in full; it would add little to the bulk of the book. That, of course, would only apply to matter not printed elsewhere. One good reason for doing so is that otherwise these minutiae are not likely to be printed at all.

The *D'Alton Endowment Fund* is defraying the cost of printing this catalogue. Of the members of *Cuallacht Chuilm Chille* who collaborated with Fr. Walsh, the Preface mentions especially An t-Ath. Pádraig O Maolagáin and An t-Ath. Caoimhghín Mac Aodhagáin. We wish well to the *Cuallacht* in this great undertaking. The cataloguing of Irish manuscripts is not an easy task. It demands great accuracy, painstaking attention to detail and form, and wide reading and research. Of its nature it is a work that would suffer greatly by being rushed. But the worker of to-day has great models before him. From O'Grady, the cataloguer may learn the value of an eye for the interesting; from Dr. Flower, the grace which is added by attention to the more remote Irish and medieval Latin background; from Dr. O'Rahilly and his successors he may learn, amongst other things, the value of a sound model to be followed by successive labourers—and, without a doubt, too, the courage to undertake and to continue a great task. We trust that the work of cataloguing the Irish manuscripts in Maynooth may go ahead steadily and be completed in good time. In Saint Colm Cille, its patron, the *Cuallacht* has a model traditionally famed for accuracy and speed in literary work, and one from whom at the same time the need of caution may be learned; for, it will be remembered, his record-breaking literary effort brought him into the law-courts!

FRANCIS SHAW

HE ORIGIN OF THE GRAIL LEGEND. By Arthur C. L. Brown, Professor Emeritus of English, Northwestern University. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press. London: Milford. 1943. 476 pages. $5.00 (28s.).

AMONG stories that the world will not willingly let die, the quest of the Grail takes high place." So begins Professor A. C. L. Brown his Introduction to his latest ork in the field of medieval literary research. In no country have scholars been active and productive on this subject as have the Americans in recent years, and rofessor Brown's book reaches a high level of scholarship. An old theme is subcted by him to critical and detailed examination under the light of his theory that e Grail legend as elaborated in the medieval romances of Chrétien de Troyes is its roots in Celtic mythology. This provocative and stimulating book demands e serious attention of all who are engaged in similar research.

Rejecting as untenable the theories that the mythological matter used by Chrétien a basis for his romances (*Erec, Lancelot, Yvain* and *Perceval*) was either Germanic classical or purely Christian in origin, Professor Brown sought elsewhere for a ely source and, in this brilliant book, adduces evidence that a pagan mythology, ch as the Celts had, " where love-making was no sin," offers the solution. Mag ell, the Happy Other World, was the Celtic *desideratum*, the perfect world, to be apted, later on in the Middle Ages, as the land beyond the grave. The pagan ys of Mag Mell were, by a compromise, blended with Christian asceticism into ne narrative by Irish writers and storytellers; and when Frenchmen wished for od stories, they turned to Ireland and to Irish intermediaries—Welshmen and etons. So these tales of voyages to Utopia in search of an unattainable good tered French popular lore in a sea-changed form, and were later picked up and -adapted by Chrétien, whose romances, written at the command of Marie de rance, are the oldest French Arthurian romances we have. Such is the new theory.

Professor Brown agrees that a superficial comparison of certain Irish tales with hrétien's romances will not reveal a close resemblance. Chrétien, he says, did not rrow from any Irish story now in existence or from any Irish story at all. By alysing both the relevant Irish and French tales, *motif* by *motif*, in a scientific anner, Professor Brown puts forward strong evidence in support of his theory, spite the many difficulties inherent in the subject. A Journey to Fairyland forms oft-recurring pattern in both the Irish and the French material. Chrétien borrowed s scenario in five or six different forms; Professor Brown shows that he could rdly have invented it. The author analyses *Serglige ConCulainn* (eighth century) d almost a score of other Irish and Welsh voyages to fairyland from literary sources, d gives summaries of the main theme and *motifs* of each. He examines similarly e romances of Chrétien as well as Wolfram's *Parzival*—this latter he found even ser to Irish sources than Chrétien's compositions, while they also had very many ints of similarity. The further Professor Brown proceeds with his analyses and mparisons, the more is one struck by the scholarly lines of argument and by the ength of his theory.

Celtic mythology, especially its Gaelic section, is still largely an unexplored and charted jungle. There is great need for a competent work on the subject (which mark prompts an expression of the hope that Professor O'Rahilly may soon publish e results of his researches in this field). In the meantime, scholars like Professor own are making valuable contributions too, as a necessary approach, albeit a side-e, to the object of their main interest. In the present work Professor Brown, building up his argument, puts forward among others such provocative theories : that Ana, Dana, and Brigit are hypostases of Ériu, personifications of Ireland; t Brigit, the Earth-Mother, was, like her son Brión, a triad; that " St. Bridget " hy this spelling?) has in Christian times been substituted for the pagan Earth-

Mother, Brigit, while St. Brendan took the place of Brión; that Medb, Clothra, Macha, Deirbriu and Cailleach Bhéara were also virtually personifications of Ireland; that Nuadu, Brión, Goibniu, and Fothad are different names for the same god; that certain legends later attached to Kings Conchobar and Cormac and Arthur were originally associated with Nuadu; that some story about the god Nuadu—wounded, yielding up his wife and country to an invading giant, and retiring underground, to be later rescued by the youthful god, Lug—is the source of the Grail legend; that Irish *criol* (bag, basket, box) is the source of the French *graal*, and that several personal names in the French romances are of Irish origin; that wars between good fairies (Tuatha Dé) and bad fairies (Fomorians) which are associated with the battle of Moytura were the basis from which grew the battles of King Arthur and his knights against their outlandish foes (Moytura became Camlan, Nuadu King Arthur, Lug Perceval, Galam Clamadeu, while Queen Ériu became Queen of Logres); finally, that as Irish imagination and Irish storytelling influenced French literature at one of its greatest and most important periods, so Irish fancy had an effect on the whole civilised world.

Professor Brown has certainly thrown more than a pebble into the pool of complacency represented by scholars who have for long held quite other views on the problems set by the Grail legend. S. Ó S.

CLASSICS

THUCYDIDES: The History of the Peloponnesian War. Edited in translation by Sir Richard Livingstone. World's Classics Series. Oxford University Press. 1943. 3s. net.

THE LATE GREEK OPTATIVE and its use in the Writings of Gregory Nazianzen. By Sister Rose de Lima Henry, M.A. Catholic University of America Press. 1943. $2.

IT is rather a pity that when deciding to include in the *World's Classics* series Richard Crawley's translation of Thucydides, the publishers should also have decided to abbreviate it. The translation is, indeed (or perhaps one should only say " was "), available in full in Messrs. Dent's *Everyman Library*; but even the reader who knows no Greek will regret not having everything Thucydides wrote, and the omissions need only have involved a few extra pages. Crawley's faithful and often vigorous translation has for years been a great help to students who could not afford Jowett, to which it is very little inferior for practical purposes. The present edition makes a most attractive and convenient little volume. It has been carefully revised, and the editor has contributed versions of his own of two special passages, the account of the revolution at Corcyra in the third book and the " Melian dialogue " in the fifth. He has also substituted for Crawley a brilliant rendering by Sir Alfred Zimmern of the famous Funeral Speech of Pericles in Book II.

There are two reasons why this book should have many readers. One is the very great interest of its account of the war which was a main turning-point in European history. We have recently been told that the campaigns of Belisarius in Italy have formed a subject of special study for officers in the present war. Thucydides is worthy of study at all times both by soldiers and by politicians. The second reason for reading him is given by Sir Richard Livingstone in his stimulating introduction. It is " in order to meet Thucydides." With Plato and Aristotle he stands apart as a writer and thinker; none of the three has equal or like elsewhere. Practically every page of Thucydides contains some wise generalisation on human nature or on history. There is something in him applicable to every political and military event. His genius shines everywhere through the strange

ntortions of his style with its exaggerated balances and antitheses, which remind s of the comparison of a modern author to an elephant trying to pick up a pin. n this version his text is conveniently broken up by chapter-headings which often ntain suggestive parallels with current events.

Sister Henry's work is Volume LXVIII in the Catholic University of America's ries of Patristic Studies, of which the general editor is Professor Roy J. Deferrari. he history of the optative mood is a subject of great importance to all students the Greek language, and this careful and complete dissertation is a valuable ntribution to linguistic scholarship. We are still far from the day when a complete istorical grammar of Greek will be available, which will trace its development om the ancient dialects to the modern vernacular. A great deal has been done for ie classical language, but there is still immense scope for research into the rammar of the voluminous medieval literature, beginning with the writings of the athers. Similar work to Sister Henry's has already been done in the Catholic Jniversity of America for St. John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St. Gregory of Tyssa. Apart from this, she has had only a few special studies to rely on, and has ius been compelled herself to make extensive collections of material.

Her method is statistical and has the disadvantage that it can only be thoroughly hecked by someone who has at his disposal as elaborate an apparatus as her own. This disadvantage she has to some extent offset by the laudable frequency with which he quotes the text of her chosen author. The result of her investigation is certainly triking. It is that St. Gregory's use of the optative in his prose works shows complete ndependence of Attic syntax. He extends the optative of wish so as to use it for ommand, prayer, and imprecation, and his introductory particles are both rare and n one case peculiar to himself. He freely omits the modal particle with potential ptatives, which again he uses in a highly original fashion. Finally he completely reaks with the classical rules for the conditional optative, and uses the mood in ubordinate clauses without regard to the Attic rule of sequence, for which he ubstitutes a special method of emphasis. It has hitherto been supposed that Patristic Greek represents merely a phase of the Attic revival and slavishly follows the nguistic canons of the Attic orators. Sister Henry shows that, on the contrary, t. Gregory is very strongly influenced by the looser structure of the vernacular, oth Attic and dialect. Thus new light is thrown on the alleged extinction of the ptative in the *Koine* and later. M.T.

History

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. A Study in Monastic Administration. By R. A. L. Smith. (Cambridge Studies in Economic History). Cambridge: University Press. 1943. 15s.

HERE is a book that throws a flood of light on the later history of English pre-Reformation monasteries. The two Benedictine communities at Canterbury date back to the mission of St. Augustine. The first Archbishop of Canterbury planned a separate and purely monastic community of SS. Peter and Paul (which was later re-dedicated as St. Augustine's, Canterbury), whilst his cathedral chapter was partly monastic, partly non-monastic. Various other temporary experiments were tried from time to time. However the cathedral chapter became entirely monastic in 997 under Archbishop Aelfric, and retained that character until the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Dr. Smith is concerned with the administration of the great monastic estates of Christ Church, Canterbury from the Norman Conquest to the date of the suppression.

An Irish student must be amazed at the wealth of authentic documentary material which still survives in the Dean and Chapter Library at Canterbury. The episcopal

registers are at Lambeth, but there are also twelve registers of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury. Add to this the treasurers' accounts from 1206-1384; account-rolls of various dates from such officers as the anniversarian, the shrine-keepers, the garnerer, the almoner, the cellarer, the sacrist, the prior and the prior's chaplain; four portfolios of the correspondence of the greatest of the priors of Canterbury, Henry Eastry (1285-1331); the day-books of several other priors; numerous accounts of the "progresses" of the various wardens of the priory's manors in Kent and elsewhere; court-rolls, plea-rolls, fine-rolls and yet more account-rolls; an old rental of the city of Canterbury; a plan for reducing the household expenditure c. 1285; some fifteenth-century contracts for the purchase of cloth; etc., etc. Here is a searcher's paradise for a student like Dr. Smith, who has all the Englishman's interest in administrative procedure. And indeed it is the same inborn respect for documentary records which accounts alike for the preservation of these ancient records at Canterbury and for their detailed study by so well-equipped a scholar in the twentieth century. How sad the contrast when we think of Armagh or Clonmacnois or Emly or Lismore!

The nature of these documents makes it inevitable that this new study of English Benedictine life concentrates our attention on the material side of monastic life. The monks of Canterbury had no saint among their number after the days of St. Anselm and St. Thomas, and they were in violent conflict with the last canonised Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Edmund Rich, in the middle of the thirteenth century. Indeed their chronicles are too often a record of the long and bitter struggle that they waged to maintain intact certain privileges which were not always for the well-being of the see of Canterbury or for the Church in England as a whole. Granted their history and the jealousy with which they preserved their corporate traditions, this book lets us see in detail how they managed their estates.

The prosperity of the priory was never greater than in the thirteenth century, which has long been recognised as a boom-period in the economic history of medieval England. Henry III may have been a weak and unhappy king, but the country as a whole prospered under the loose control of his authority; England's fairest parish churches and many of her finest cathedrals date from this period. Dr. Smith gives a most interesting account of the highly centralised administrative machinery that was elaborated at Canterbury to deal with the many financial problems that were a permanent factor in the community's life. Three great "obedientiaries" were mainly responsible for the administration of the monastery's finances in the twelfth century: the cellarer, the chamberlain and the sacrist. The upkeep of the almonry and the guesthouse depended on a separate fund, which was derived from the rents of certain small holdings in the city of Canterbury. Shortly before the year 1167 a new officer was introduced: a *dispensator* or *thesaurarius*. Henceforth, until the late fourteenth century when an over-energetic prior, Thomas Chillenden, centralised all financial control in his own hands as prior-treasurer, the duty of the treasurers was to maintain a strict control over the rents received by the cellarer, the chamberlain and the sacrist; whilst they themselves were not permitted to undertake any commitments or expenditure without the express consent of the prior and the senior monks of the community. This wise control accounts for the astonishing stability of the monastery's financial position—even after such years of stress as 1206-13, when King John expelled the monks from their home and encouraged his officers to play havoc with the revenues of the priory. The storms of wind and flood which swept Kent towards the end of the thirteenth century, and the greater disaster of the Black Death some fifty years later are no more than minor episodes in this long history of the prosperity of a great medieval estate. Indeed Dr. Smith has been able to demonstrate from the priory's account-rolls that an unexpected boom of prosperity marks the period of the early fifteenth century, when Prior Chillenden was busy

:onstructing the present marvellously beautiful nave of Canterbury Cathedral, d was at the same time able to spend large sums of money on the improvement the priory's numerous manorial buildings in Kent and Essex and elsewhere. ıly one source of revenue declines steadily throughout the fifteenth century: the erings of the faithful who came as pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas.

As compared with the Cistercian White Monks, the Benedictines of Canterbury l not concentrate on sheep-farming and the wool-trade as their main source of 'enue, but preferred cereal farming as better suited to the ancient arable land ıich they had acquired in Anglo-Saxon days. Apart from their own home-market, :ir estates lay close to London and to the Continent and the monks could always ınt on ready buyers. Like most great medieval estates, their land was organised a chain of manors from which a specified supply of food was sent up "in regular :ation, once twice, thrice, even seven times a year." The monks themselves l not attempt to till the soil, but were content to exploit their estates through : labours of a *familia* of working-men—a significant change from the earlier days St. Benedict or the Anglo-Saxon missionary monks. In the fifteenth century, der the new policy of Prior Chillenden who was always in need of more and more ıts for his expensive building-projects, the manorial demesne-lands were leased t to *firmarii*. These were for the most part prosperous local farmers who were th able and willing to exploit these lands themselves on a leasehold system. But ıt was not the classic system of medieval Canterbury. Under Prior Henry Eastry, ıose long rule symbolises the earlier and more conservative tradition, the manors re exploited by the monks themselves who appointed "wardens" of their various operties to supervise and control the work on each of these estates. Hence the mense importance for a scholar like Dr. Smith of the surviving accounts of the ›rogress" of some of these wardens.

It is impossible not to feel that the life of the community as a whole was unduly ıtred round the business side of this vast property. The senior monks who audited : accounts of the priory's exchequer in the annual *Assisa Scaccarii* were, with the :eption of their lack of judicial powers, almost exactly a monastic counterpart the King's Barons of the Exchequer; and we find them called *barones* in the rolls the fifteenth century. Capitalist loans on a system of large-scale borrowing can traced from the thirteenth century onwards. The first creditors were the Jews Canterbury (until the expulsion of the Jews from England under Edward I) d Italian merchants from Rome, Siena, Bologna, Florence and Pistoia. In the er Middle Ages English prosperity was such that the monks were able to finance en their most ambitious enterprises from money lent to them by London merchants d other wealthy Englishmen.

Dr. Smith has confined his attention almost exclusively to the imporant manors ıich the monks of Canterbury owned and administered in Kent. A recent thesis Dr. J. F. Nichols deals with the monastic property in Essex, whilst a general w of the movement as a whole can be found in Dr. Snape's volume on *English onastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*. Irish students should note that the ory of Christ Church, thanks to a grant by Strongbow's uncle Hervé de Monte-›risco, owned some property in Wexford as to which details may be found in the rd volume of J. B. Sheppard's edition of the *Litterae Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series, 39). To quote Dr. Sheppard's comment, the monks of Christ Church "received ›re vexation than profit from these estates in Ireland, as other absentee landlords ve done." Hervé entered Christ Church as a monk (Gerald of Wales, who did t like him, has some caustic comments on his *conuersio morum*) about the year 30. For the next fifty years there is only one entry in the treasurer's book of any ›yment from Ireland. In 1213, when the treasurers were striving to restore order their finances after the six years of exile, an Anglo-Norman bishop of Leighlin

Herlewin, paid a sum of £27 to the monks. In 1245 the monks sold their Irish estates to the Anglo-Irish Cistercian monastery of Tintern for 625 marks cash down and a reserved rent of 10 marks. This rent was increased from 10 to 13 marks in 1255, but payments were always most irregular. Some curious deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been printed from the Canterbury archives by Dr. Sheppard.[1] They make it plain that Hervé's gift " consisted of a little land and a great deal of ecclesiastical patronage "—an arrangement characteristic of a period when the Norman conquerors of Ireland were striving to oust Irishmen from every ecclesiastical benefice worth having in this country.

It is in the manifest integrity of the priory's treasurers and in the solid constructive work that was done throughout the centuries, not only as builders but as reclaimers of bog-land and in the defence of the soil against the inroads of the sea, that the monks of Canterbury can best justify their claim to have been " good and faithful stewards " of the lands that had been entrusted to them. Alms-giving seems at all times to have played but a small part in their administration, and Dr. Smith notes that the building of the familiar Chequers of the Hope in 1395 is an indication that the monks were beginning to pass over to others the burdens of hospitality.

It is only fair to remind our readers that other surviving documents give us an insight into a different aspect of Canterbury's life in the fifteenth century. Mr. W. A. Pantin, who has already given us a masterly edition of the surviving records of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks from 1215 to 1540, is at present preparing a history of Canterbury College, Oxford, which will throw light on the intellectual history of the Black Monks in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. That many English Benedictines, like Prior William Sellyng of Canterbury (1472-94), were prominent in the early phase of English Renaissance scholarship has been recognised by modern critics. Mr. Pantin's work will probably add to our detailed knowledge of this movement, but he will hardly be able to provide material sufficient to make us revise our general estimate of the decline in Benedictine traditions as a whole. When the suppression came in 1540, 28 of the 53 monks joined the new royal collegiate establishment, whilst the prior and the rest of the monks took substantial pensions from the King and left St. Augustine's monastery. The Rule of St. Benedict had ceased to be a potent factor in their lives. A.G.

SPAIN. By Salvador de Madariaga. London: Jonathan Cape. 1942. 25s.
THE SPANISH LABYRINTH. By Gerald Brenan. Cambridge University Press. 1943. 21s.

THESE two books set out to clear up the mystery of Spain. But, though they shed light upon many a dark corner and give much useful information, they leave the inquirer more bewildered than before and more despondent about the destiny of this historic land, with its great past and, one might have hoped, its worthy future. He feels tempted to despair of ever coming at the truth amid the antinomies he meets in the never-ending debate. He may also feel tempted to turn upon the litigants and exclaim: " A plague upon all your houses! You do not conform to any intelligible category." Yet he may and must agree with Señor de Madariaga in one thing at least: this attitude is only possible to those who forget their own selfish interests as well as the dictates of humanity. What happens in Spain and Spanish America is going to have wide repercussions and exercise considerable influence, for good or evil, on the destiny of mankind.

Hence these two books merit consideration because of their theme. Also because of their performance—which, in the case of both, is in many ways admirable.

[1] They have been translated and annotated by P. H. Hore in his *History of Co. Wexford* (Tintern and Fethard).

lly and most of all, because of the fact that they are likely to affect the opinion he English-speaking world very considerably: and that opinion appears, as is one can judge at present, destined to play a preponderant role in determining shape of things to come.

Señor de Madariaga's book is the more important of the two. Perhaps it may e to be the most influential of all the veritable deluge of works written in our on Spain. The author is probably the ablest of the Spanish *émigrés* scattered ad by the political tempest of recent years. He is an Honorary Fellow of er College, Oxford, and is thus at the cultural heart of Anglo-Saxondom. He es even in English with a literary *finesse* that compels admiration and in s of such moderation that criticism is disarmed. He assumes a pose of such ctivity that the unwary may easily say: Here, at last, is the truth, the whole n and nothing but the truth. And the tragedy is that this verdict, justified gh it be by many expositions of the highest value and by many corrections ld myths and British misconceptions, would yet be erroneous—erroneous isely on the things that matter most and on the issues that are fundamental. this book, in spite of its pretence to impartiality, is really the ablest partisan- ding coming from the Left side.

Señor de Madariaga nowhere defines his philosophical or theological standpoint. have to guess at it or deduce it from his attitude to men and parties in Spain. nearest to a confession of faith which he has given us anywhere is found in the face: "In my narrative of the events which led to the Civil War, as well as in of the war itself, it may at times seem as if I stressed the errors and shortcomings he Left more heavily than those of the Right. This was inevitable for two ons: the first is that, in the countries for which I am writing this study, it is it what actually happened in the Left that new light is particularly needed; second is that *it is from the Left rather than from the Right that we expect our re*; it is the Left, therefore, which stands in need of criticism." Though he con- s that he hardly knows the men of the Right, he rather arrogantly tells us that ", "*despite their temporary success, are of no permanent importance.*" (Italics mine). The words I have underlined define Señor de Madariaga's attitude. It is on men of the Left that he bases his hopes for the future of Spain—the men of the it having no permanent importance in his eyes. This involves logically the wal and triumph of the revolution which began in 1931 and petered out in ruin in 1939. Thus in the diagnosis of our patriotic don another violent shake of the kaleidoscope is necessary; the old revolutionary see-saw must go on, has done for two centuries now since Masonry raised illuminism to the status *Contre-Eglise* in Spain the Most Catholic.

It is true, of course, that the Señor envisages the victory of his friends as coming er from outside influences. This book is largely a pleading, very eloquent at times courageous, addressed to England (to which, for the heroism shown ne Battle of Britain, he makes a gracious donation of the moral headship of world) that it will impose somehow upon Spaniards the ordered liberty they d not themselves hammer out in two centuries of strife, and then harness a ied, contented, progressive, peace-loving Iberia, as a sort of outrider, to the o-Saxon chariot coursing like Apollo's through the skies. We are very far here Don John of Austria riding to the sea, or Pizarro climbing the Andes, or ez marching on Mexico. It is the voice of a chastened and suppliant Spain to new Conquistadores. It is the acceptance of the status of a satellite to the tellations of to-day.

There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong in that. It may be questioned, ever, whether all Spaniards will endorse the attitude or bend the knee so low. her, it may be doubted whether they would gain by doing so. Gibbon has

written: "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade." Don Salvador implicitly admits feebleness; it is only too likely to neutralise the effect of his really moving words and weighty argument. He hardly makes due allowance for the rabid anti-Spanish virus in the Anglo-Saxon blood. It might be wiser, as more dignified, for Spain to settle her own internal problems for herself in the light of her own traditions.

In addition to the general and sweeping disdain of the Preface, Señor de Madariaga has much detailed criticism of all Right Wing elements in Spain. His language is in form courteous but in substance severe and, I think, in many respects unjust. What is more to be deplored is that it is uniformly unproven. All we have, for the most part, is his own conclusions—skilfully presented but very inadequately substantiated. In his resumé of the earlier history of the peninsula he is really masterly and singularly free from either chauvinism or servility. But once we come to the French Revolution and after, he ceases to be the historian and becomes the propagandist. The acolyte of the Goddess of Liberty can no longer see anything but the old Manichaean drama of Ahriman and Ormuzd—the struggle between Light and Darkness, between Progress (*alias* Liberalism) and Reaction (*alias* Tradition). The Throne, the Army, the Grandees and, above all, the Church are in the dock together and are condemned *en bloc* without privilege of appeal to the prerogative of mercy.

For many reasons I must leave the first three culprits to answer for themselves or find other advocates. But Señor de Madariaga's strictures on the Church of Spain concern Catholics everywhere and call for some comment. It is some relief then to discover that this ingenious state-prosecutor not only fails to establish his case but fails even to present it in a form which any law-court would receive; for accusation to be listened to at all should be definite and clear-cut. It should specify the crimes committed, the places where, the times when, the persons by whom they were committed. It should bring home to some representatives of the Church, acting as such, responsibility for the misdeeds with which the body corporate is charged. Otherwise we have calumny and defamation, not juridical indictment.

Does Señor de Madariaga fulfil these conditions in relation to the Spanish Church? Not in the least; not in a single instance; not by any intelligible argument; not even by any precise charge which can be critically sifted. He is obviously enough prejudiced and partisan in many pages of his work; but in dealing with his clerical fellow-countrymen of all degrees he falls to depths of prejudice in which his whole contention sinks and is lost. I have read him carefully, and I gather that he dislikes the Church more than the Dynasty, the Army and the Grandees put together. But beyond that I can gather nothing—nothing clear and tangible. I cannot find in all his pages a single cleric cited by name and proved guilty of a single misdemeanour against the laws of God or man. He gives no precise facts, figures, places, dates—in a word, no sort of evidence which a civilized jurisprudence would accept.

And yet no abler book, as far as my knowledge goes, has been written in recent times from the Leftist side in Spain; none more likely to deceive the reader because of its facade of moderation; none more dangerous to the future peace of the Peninsula. Its literary qualities are beyond praise, but it is filled on almost every page with those half-truths which are proverbially the worst of lies. It dissembles entirely the fundamental fact that, in Spain as elsewhere, the conflict is primarily a spiritual one. It is between the Christian concept of life (with all that it involves) and the neo-paganism of our times. Señor de Madariaga gives us no clear or definite clue as to where he stands in this supreme issue.

The Spanish Labyrinth need not detain us long. Like the curate's egg it is good in parts. If Mr. Brenan is a more attractive personality than Señor de Madariaga,

has not the Spanish Don's wide knowledge of history or intimate acquaintance h the contemporary political arena in Spain. He is a stranger, who has, however, d many years in the land and has come to love it, as all strangers seem to do ether they consort with the Right or the Left. He makes the impression of ustry in the study of its problems and honesty in his statement of views. He ms to wish to be fair and can tell the truth, when he sees it, without fear or our. His treatment of the very tangled and almost desperate agrarian problem a masterpiece of balanced, well-informed and well-documented criticism, which itself alone would justify his book.

But Mr. Brenan's sympathies are clearly enough with the Left, and he seems ıave consorted, preponderatingly at least, with " liberal " Spaniards. He is a good server, an interested listener and even an industrious reader. But he is singularly icient in the art of scientific internal criticism. The result is the occasional eptance of the crudest and most obvious fables as *vera historia*. One example l suffice ; it is the most glaring but not the only one. Unfortunately it shows redulity that shakes one's confidence in him as a historian. He does not display thing like Señor de Madariaga's animus against the Church ; yet he slips into owlers " which the astuter native carefully avoids. Here is an example :—

" The leaders of this movement were, of course, the Jesuits. Theirs was the icy—originated three centuries before by their founder—of winning over the n and powerful. For this they needed money. And indeed Spain provided a ıpting investment for the general funds of the Society : money laid out there uld bring not only a good return but also immediate political power. And so ir wealth in the Peninsula began to mount up—composed as it was of the in- tments of the Society abroad and of the new bequests made by the pious in ain—until it reached really immense proportions. In 1912, according to Joaquin uilera, Secretary of the Fomento, they controlled ' without exaggeration one- d of the capital wealth of Spain.' They owned railways, mines, factories, banks, pping companies, orange plantations. There came to be something almost thical about their industrial activities. One was told that they ran the antique niture business, supplied Madrid with fresh fish and controlled the liveliest arets. Their working capital was said to amount to £60,000,000 sterling. There of course, no reason why the Jesuits, with their colleges and missions to provide should not be wealthy. They would not be able to carry out their work if they e not . . . But it seemed scarcely in the national interest that one section of the mmunity—and that a militant one—should control so large a share of the in- trial life of the country ; and one must remember that a good part of this wealth to be acquired by cadging for gifts and bequests among the rich and that these ours were not given for nothing. In return the Church was expected to defend interests of the rich against the poor. . . . The statement so often made in propa- dist books that the Spanish Church is a large landowner is not of course true."

The one question on which Mr. Brenan is a real authority is the land question, he is honest enough to rectify just this one myth of the many myths about Spain ch he and others accept with a credulity that is amazing. As regards the fabulous lth with which he credits the Jesuits, there is something pathological about such lulity. One does not know what to say in reply to accusations which are not untrue but fantastically impossible.

P. J. GANNON

E FRENCH REVOLUTION. By J. M. Thompson. Oxford : Basil Black- well. 1943. 32s. 6d.

OUGH events of our own day have in more than one European country dwarfed tremendous upheaval of 1789 in France, this latter still maintains its perennial

interest. Every year increases its already immense bibliography, to which one of the latest additions is this work by Mr. J. M. Thompson of Oxford.

The French Revolution saw a tremendous clash of those fundamental passions which are unloosed by all such national uprisings. Yet, without some understanding of the complex French character and temper, anything like a clear concept of that event, with its many paradoxes, its apparent anomalies and contradictions, is difficult to obtain. Such a consideration must weigh with one in reviewing any book on the subject coming out of England, where a constitutional inability to understand other peoples is a national characteristic. One has not, however, read many pages of this book by Mr. Thompson before one realises that, with his wide outlook and sympathy, he has risen above bias and prejudice. Unlike many of his countrymen who have written on the subject of the Revolution, he does not attempt to dogmatise. He approaches his work with detachment and places facts and situations before his readers dispassionately. The result is that one gets, in its various phases, a conspectus of the Revolution that is at once vivid and comprehensive. No ready-made opinions are presented, but estimates may be formed of and conclusions drawn from events and situations and personalities.

This strictly judicial attitude of the author is maintained almost uniformly throughout the book and is its outstanding feature. The occasions when he departs from it are so few as to be negligible. If one may be mentioned, it is where the question—doubtless a vexed one—of Pitt's activities regarding the Revolution is touched on. Mr. Thompson seems to regard Pitt's policy of subsidising disorders in France through his secret agents and of corrupting officials in high place in that country as without foundation. But there are facts which tend to show that Pitt's gold and his intrigues to undermine the stability of republican France were not mere myths. The recent researches of Albert Mathiez (author of one of the best fifty books on the Revolution as chosen by Mr. Thompson in his Preface) throw a somewhat sinister light on the English minister's secret activities at the time. A few years ago the present reviewer, while examining some manuscripts in the British Museum, casually met with certain papers of William Huskisson (English Under-Secretary of State during Pitt's premiership) in one of which that official declares that he paid, during two years of the later stage of the Revolution (1795-1797), £118,392 "for the purposes of Foreign Secret Service."

Minor points like this aside, Mr. Thompson's admirable volume is the most important and scholarly addition to the bibliography of the French Revolution published for many years, and it will probably be for a long time a standard work on that event. The key to his attitude towards his subject is provided in the Preface to his book where, writing of the revolutionary leaders, he says: "Try to understand them, before you either condemn or excuse them . . . . they were men, not monsters, faced with a difficult and dangerous task, as many statesmen are to-day." In the Preface, too, he shows his judicial outlook in his carefully chosen list of the best fifty books on the Revolution, which include authors as opposed in their views as Mathiez and Aulard, Kropotkin and De Tocqueville. There will always be inevitable differences of opinion regarding the best books on any subject. Someone has said, however, that no man feels the grandeur of the Revolution till he has read Michelet, or the horror of it without reading Taine, and neither is represented in Mr. Thompson's selection.

There are a few slips of minor importance here and there in the pages of the book. The Chevalier James Rutledge, well-known journalist of the Revolutionary period and friend of the Jacobin leaders, is described as an Englishman. Similarly labelled is another Irishman, James Francis Xavier Whyte, who was released from the Bastille on the day that fortress fell.

R. H.

IE LAST YEARS OF THE SLAVE TRADE. By Averil Mackenzie-Grieve. London: Putnam. 1943. 15s.

VERPOOL is now one of the busiest ports in the world. It is difficult for those who id on its spacious docks to-day to realise that the rise of this great mart is of comratively recent date: it is more difficult still to conceive that the origin of its osperity is traceable to a commercial enterprise as iniquitous as the world has er known. Liverpool was set on the way to wealth and importance by a ruthless ployment of the hardihood of her merchant sailors and by a disgraceful traffic the lives and liberties of the natives of Africa. The Liverpudlians would scarcely e to be reminded that only a little more than a century ago her quay-sides were onged with enslaved and bewildered human beings torn from their homes by the rciless brutality of native slave-brokers and the heartless greed of European siness men.

In spite of the horrors incidental to the slave trade there is no doubt but that a rtain romance clung to the life of the seamen who faced, with misguided courage, e hardships and the dangers that the sorry business involved. Nor must one be o severe in one's strictures on the Liverpool merchants. They did not initiate very nor deliberately promote it. In their day the existence of slavery was as uch taken for granted as it was in Roman Imperial times. Nobody questioned e humanity of it. Africa was very remote owing to the slowness of communitions. The negro was to the average white man a strange and exotic creature. e was scarcely credited with the ordinary instincts, feelings and ambitions of a man being. This attitude was not the result of deliberate scorn so much as want reflection. At the close of the eighteenth century there was scarcely any missionary tivity in the Dark Continent. The absence of enlightenment regarding the peoples at populated it is not surprising in the circumstances. The Guineamen who iled down the Mersey and, after months of dangerous voyaging, reached the onny river and the other trade centres made contact only with native chiefs and alers who treated their countrymen with a callous inhumanity never equalled by e white men. It was but too easy, taking human nature as it is, for the ships' ptains and their employers to catch, from those with whom they traded, the black an's attitude towards those of his fellows who came into his power through craft violence. Those who opposed Granville Sharp, Wilberforce and the rest of the olitionists, were not altogether hypocritical and insincere when they averred that e life conditions of the negroes set to work on the sugar plantations in the West dies were far superior to those under which these particular negroes lived in their tive country.

For these reasons there is all the more honour due to the courageous men who, face of obloquy, misrepresentation and the strong current of vested interests, ught for decades to vindicate the right of the negro to be treated as a person with ll human rights. The story of this fight is told in three hundred pages brimful historical interest. The author's style is reminiscent of Carlyle and Thackeray. he mass of material he had to handle for his theme is dealt with skilfully. There artistic selection. And the result is a vivid impression of Liverpool between the ars 1750 and 1807.

Whilst making no attempt to gloss over the cruelties of the slave trade and, in rticular, the horrors of the Middle Passage—*i.e.*, between the coast of Africa and e West Indian plantations—the author of *The Last Years of the Slave Trade* does t play the part of a partisan pleader. Having full sympathy with the Abolitionists, does not darken the colours when the merchants and the plantation-owners are alt with. There is a touch of humour in his handling of the outraged feelings West Indian planter and Liverpool merchant when they saw that what they rmed the humanitarian claptrap of "the Clapham sect" (the Abolitionist group)

had become a real menace to an institution on which their affluence depended. The course of the Abolitionist campaign, from its beginning with the Mansfield judgment to its triumphant close through the efforts of Pitt and Fox, is traced with a verve that invests the story with intense dramatic interest. Wilberforce's name is the one that most readily comes to the mind when reference is made to the Act of Parliament that declared the slave trade illegal; but, perhaps, the chief honours of the struggle go to Granville Sharp. This redoubtable champion of the black man's rights gets full justice in the pages of Mr. Mackenzie-Grieve.

The book makes very interesting reading, and the author was very wise in not destroying that interest by dwelling overmuch on the harrowing incidents of the sordid trade. Acquaintance is made with personages like John Newton, the Falconbridges, General and Lady Nugent whose lives were extremely colourful. The quotations from the diaries of Anna Falconbridge and Lady Nugent convey to the reader a vivid impression of the ways, manners and outlook of the cultured people of the closing period of the eighteenth century. Particularly enlivening are the accounts given of the voyages of the two famous captains, Lace and Crow, and of the fights of the latter against French privateers.

This is a book well worth reading. In bringing it to a close the author comments on the strange fact that men could be zealous to bring a remedy to the woes of the black man, whilst remaining indifferent to, or unobservant of, the appalling evils that weighed upon many of their own fellow-countrymen in the English town and countryside. The victims of the pressgang, speaking relatively, were as unjustly treated as the victims of the slave-traders. " But standing in relief against the drab greyness of starving Irish peasantry, the dull familiarity of herded impressed civilians, the sordidness of English labourers' lives and dwellings, the negro fired the imagination . . . . It was more satisfying to shiver over the horrors of the Middle Passage than to visit the disquieting filth and poverty of dock or slum " (page 295).

Whilst not doubting the sincerity and humanity of the noble-minded men who were the inspiration of the movement on behalf of the oppressed negro, one may remain sceptical of the motives of numbers of those who ultimately joined in the cry for abolition. If certain trade interests were not promoted by the ending of the traffic in slaves, it may be questioned whether Wilberforce would have enjoyed the triumph of the 23 February 1807—the day when the Bill for the abolition of the slave trade was carried by a majority of 267. Bristol, for instance, awoke to the full horrors of the barter in human beings when it saw its trade declining in consequence of the enterprising commerce of Liverpool with the coasts of Guinea.

E. LEEN

FATHER THEOBALD MATHEW. By Patrick Rogers, M.A., D.Litt. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1943. 10s. 6d.

THE IRISH IN SCOTLAND. By James E. Handley, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D. Cork University Press. 1943. 10s. 6d.

JUDGED by their covers, these books bear a certain external resemblance one to the other. They are of about the same size and thickness. For all that Br. Handley's book is some 150 pages longer than the Life of Fr. Mathew. Both books are well produced and make pleasant reading, and Dr. Roger's book carries with it several interesting illustrations It is the more interesting book of the two, in that it is more unified, telling as it does the story of a single man, his aims, exertions and achievements. It provides, in fact, a much needed popular life of Fr. Mathew; and is at once sufficiently short to be easily read and sufficiently long to enable the reader to gain a balanced view of Fr. Mathew's life and times. Dr. Rogers has done his work well and, in a prefatory note, has forestalled very nearly the only criticism one might have been tempted to make; for he there explains that of set purpose he has made

attempt to discuss the interior life of the priest of whom he has written. This is tainly true ; for his book is a chronicle of the external activities of Fr. Mathew y, though a deep-seated sympathy for those in destress and a sincere devotion vards the poor loom large in the background. These in their turn must have been inded upon loftier motives of love of God and union with Him in meditation and ayer.

In contrast with the lively story of Fr. Mathew is the very much less exuberant tory of the Irish in Scotland supplied in Br. Handley's book. The period covered this work coincides very nearly with the span of Fr. Mathew's life and some v of its pages are devoted to a description of Fr. Mathew's visit to Scotland in 42, an event told by Dr. Rogers also. In a further point as well the two books are ked together. In his account of the famine relief works in Ireland, Dr. Rogers ws attention (p. 108-109) to the problem created for Fr. Mathew by the paying relief workers in different public-houses and the effective protest he lodged against s abuse. Br. Handley (p. 236) shows how this demoralizing practice was not nfined to Ireland only, but was employed also where Irish immigrants were gaged in different works in Scotland. " Many masters," he says, " paid wages gularly in a public house ; and others, to save the trouble of procuring change, ve £5 notes among their group of employees, who adjourned to a tavern to change d divide them. The public house owners provided themselves with change for the turday evening, and the ordinary rule was sixpenny worth to be drunk for every t changed."

The Irish in Scotland is a well planned book, packed with information, the thering of which upon a so little known subject must have been both difficult and dious. In places, indeed, it seems to suffer from an almost too great wealth of ustration ; for, though instances cited are never irrelevant, they make at times r a certain disjointedness by their multiplicity.

In the course of his narrative Br. Handly embodies, as well as the story of the ish immigrants, much interesting information on Scottish history and traces the pid advances both in industrial and agricultural life by which it was marked ring the early part of the 19th century. His picture of conditions amongst the porer classes both in town and country, is far from flattering. The position in lasgow, for example, was gruesome in the extreme ; so appalling that J. C. ymons, who claimed to have seen " human degradation in some of its worst phases oth in England and abroad," confessed in 1839 that he did not " believe," until " visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, id disease existed upon one spot in any civilized country." But it is not for records this kind that Br. Handley's book is chiefly valuable, but rather for the care and oroughness with which he examines in succession the charges levelled against the ish immigrants and exposes the forces, official and otherwise, at work to bring scredit upon them and exploit the hapless condition in which they found themlves placed. C. O'C.

Sociology

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL ORDER. By R. A. L. Smith, Ph.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London : Longmans. 1943. 7s. 6d. net.

Dr. Smith, in this admirable little book, endeavours to answer two questions. What is the Catholic teaching on social questions ? And how far are English Catholics prepared to collaborate with other Christians in this country in the work f social reconstruction ? " It is obvious that any " New Order " must be based n some social philosophy, and therefore there is no problem more basic than the

question of man's nature and destiny. The root evil is not any mere political scheme, but a view of life—" that view of life in which the unique value and dignity of human personality is implicitly or explicitly denied." Now it is Dr. Smith's contention that it is only on the Christian basis that we can build any theory of the unique value and dignity of human personality. Historically the pagan world, although it had at its best " a very high conception of creative living," never attained to the conviction of the unique value of the individual. Aristotle definitely stood for inequality and slavery. Those aspects of our modern civilisation which seem on reflection to be most valuable have grown up in close relation with the Christian system. If Christian ideals fade and no longer inform the minds of men, can we hope to escape the evils of a totalitarian democracy?

Although England is a *post-Christian* country, it has been living for many centuries on Christian capital. Fashionable anti-Christian views have been superficial and confined to narrow circles. " Indeed right until the present day the Christian view of man has simply been taken for granted by most people in this country. Whatever the intellectual fashion of the age might be, the average common-sense man could not question a belief that had been implanted in him at birth and had been held by his ancestors from time immemorial." But an easy optimism is no longer possible. All that is valuable in democracy springs from the Christian tradition and is not " empirically derived from research into anthropological and psychological data." Is the Christian tradition strong enough in England to enable it to escape the hideous evils of totalitarian systems? Dr. Smith is of opinion that the basic Christian tradition has always been so strong in England that co-operation on social problems between all Christians is possible. It is also necessary if liberty and equality are to survive.

Dr. Smith finds the basis for co-operation in the Natural Law and in the conception of an Organic Society. These are generally accepted. " The country is saturated with the Christian tradition in its common law, its political and social philosophy, its balanced constitution, and its general approach to moral and ethical problems." The tradition, however, is becoming weak and it will need the co-operation of all who accept the Christian ethic to secure its survival. Dr. Smith studies the new Christian Order under three heads: its educational basis, its social basis, and its economic basis. What he proposes to do under these heads is to translate the guiding principles of Christianity, upon which there will be general agreement, into a particular programme of social and political action. This is his contribution as an individual to the building-up of the New Order, " the vision which I, as a Catholic, have of a new Christian Order for England."

About the details of educational, social and economic reforms there will inevitably be great difference of opinion. This is the point at which the difficulties of co-operation begin to emerge. The present educational problem in England is an excellent example. Even if the principle that in education the family should be dominant is accepted, historical causes tend to make one solution rather than another acceptable to particular Christian groups. It requires vision to see that arrangements which seem to give immediate advantages to one group or another may in the long run be injurious to the whole Christian attitude in education. Dr. Smith gives an excellent exposition of the functions of the family, the Church and the State in education. If these principles are universally accepted by all Christian bodies in England—which seems doubtful—they have not secured united action about the solution of present educational problems.

The social basis of any society tolerable to Christians is the family group. As opposed to polygamy and promiscuity, this implies permanent indissoluble marriage. It is obvious, Dr. Smith thinks, that in England Christians should aim at strengthening the institution of marriage, if possible by direct legislation. " Secular reformers,

their excess of zeal for freeing mankind from moral restrictions, have been nishingly blind to the long-term results of their policy." He gives a brief but ellent analysis of the encyclical of Pope Pius XI *Casti Connubii*. "Modern ety is profoundly inimical to such teaching." Long hours, low wages, cyclical and g-term unemployment, malnutrition, the horror of the "slums" and "depressed as" are symptoms of this hostility. Suggested remedies like "family limitation" themselves notable evils. "The payment of a living wage, sufficient for a man his family must always be the first charge upon industry." He thinks a system of state-paid family allowances "is unlikely to prove acceptable to holics or indeed to the great majority of Christians save as a temporary solution." argues against the suggested English scheme of five shillings a week for every endent child on three grounds. First, the scheme is inequitable. It is in-quate for some, superfluous for others. It does not deal in any fundamental with the "gravely defective" distribution of wealth to which Pius XI refers. the second place, state-paid family allowances acting as a palliative will help to petuate the abuses of the capitalist system. Finally, and this is the fundamental nt, the system inculcates notions of dependence upon the State and so confirms State in powers which do not properly belong to it.

The economic basis of a Christian order is the institution of private property. s is at once the most interesting and the most contentious part of the book. The holic theory of private property, Dr. Smith thinks, mainly refers to those types roperty which assist man as creator or producer—*i.e.*, to property designed for In an Organic Society there would be no place for urban ground-rents and alties. These are not functional property, but property for power and personal uisition. Under this principle monopoly profits also are unjustifiable, and culative finance must either be abolished altogether or ruthlessly curtailed and trolled. He is of opinion that there is a moral justification for private perty "in payments for personal services, in land and tools used by their owners, personal possessions necessary to health and comfort, in copyright and patent ts, in pure interest and in reasonable profits."

Altogether this is a very stimulating book, and it is not possible in a brief review ring out the freshness and skill with which Dr. Smith deals with problems which often presented to us by dull writers who seem to confuse edification with insight.

D. O'K.

E REALM OF A RAIN QUEEN. By E. Jensen Krige and J. D. Krige. Oxford University Press. 1943. 21s.

his work of more than three hundred closely-printed pages (too closely printed the comfort of the reader) the authors, who are the nephew and nephew's wife Field-Marshal Smuts, present a very complete study of the way of life of the edu tribe. Tribe is, perhaps, not quite the proper term to use; for the book ts rather of a people made up of diverse Bantu elements, but welded into a social ty through the assimilation of the Lovedu culture, in varying degrees of complete-, by the components of the social-political group. The Lovedus are far the most uential section and, as such, have imposed their pattern of life on the others. hinge on which turns the whole social and economic system of the Lovedus is Queen, titled Mujaji III. She is credited with occult powers through which she ble to control the annual rainfall, checking it when it is too abundant and pro-ing it when it is insufficient for the agricultural needs of the country. As the erial welfare of the people depends on the fertility of the soil, it is easy to under-d the prestige enjoyed by the person on whom that fertility is thought to depend.

A notice of the book might suggest that in its pages the reader will be introduced to ersonage as fascinating and romantic as the heroine of Rider Haggard's famous

novel *She*. The reader who takes up the work of the Kriges in this expectation will be greatly disappointed. It is true that the Queen of the Lovedu enjoys a position of great authority in her territories, which lie to the north-east of the Transvaal. She is willingly obeyed by her subjects and, though having no police or military to enforce her orders, her decisions relative to all matters affecting the tribal pattern are accepted without demur. Still one is told little about her or her gifts. One is left in doubt whether the authors take this attribution of preternatural power quite seriously. They mention, but without emphasis, occasions of drought when she was appealed to by her councillors and the District Heads to bid the clouds distil their beneficent showers on the thirsty fields. Rainfall did sometimes coincide with her intervention, but sometimes it did not. In case of failure she explains that her power is " held " by some malevolent influence or by some secret violation of the traditional religious cult on the part of one or other of her subjects. Of the seventeen Chapters that compose the book there is but one devoted to the Rain-Queen. The expectant reader would like to hear much more about her and her doings.

The remaining chapters cover the whole field of Lovedu culture. The authors spared neither pains nor time in order to be able to present as complete a picture as possible. They have succeeded. The thoroughness of their investigations is beyond all praise. The pages are filled with details given with a sympathy for the way of life they are studying. The routine of daily life, the housekeeping, the care of the herds, the tillage of the fields—all this is graphically presented. Having taken pains to master the language and having by much patience succeeded in acquiring legal ties of kinship with the people, the Kriges were able to penetrate to some extent the jealous secrecy with which the natives surround their customs against the prying of Europeans. Hence they are able to give an eye-witness account of the most significant aspects of the native culture—namely, the initiation ceremonies of the adolescent boys and girls, and the procedure of the quasi-judicial courts of elders which decide all conflicts that threaten to disturb the tribal harmony. A noteworthy feature of these decisions is that they are not based on equity or justice in our sense, but on the necessity of maintaining intact the social system. Judgments are in the interest of the pattern and not of the litigants.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Lovedu life is the marriage system. It is based on " Munyalo ". Cattle are received in exchange for the bride, and the beasts thus acquired subsequently pass on in order to bring a bride into the family of the possessor. In a diagram the authors show how the brides follow the course of a circle in one sense, whilst the cattle follow a similar path but in the opposite sense. The connections or relationships established by this marriage system are as intricate as a jig-saw puzzle.

The social economy of the people is interesting—perhaps the most interesting topic in the whole book. The industry of the Lovedus is confined strictly to the needs of subsistence. They work, not to grow wealthy, but to provide year by year the necessaries of life. Competition and self-aggrandizement are taboo amongst them. Mutual co-operation, the sharing of burdens, readiness to give freely to those in need—these are the characteristics stamped upon the social system. Its basis is the principle of reciprocity. This free interchange of good offices and of the necessaries of life gives a sense of economic security. The people work to live, not to grow wealthy ; work serves the interests of the people. This care-free existence might appear to be entirely unfavourable to initiative and self-expression. In fact it is not. The result of it is that prestige is sought, not in material possessions but in the reputation for knowledge of tribal custom, wisdom in handling the problems of life, and, above all, ripe experience. There is amongst the Lovedu a hierarchy of values ; but it is a hierarchy based on personal worth, on age and on intelligence

The authors dwell a good deal on the important part played by beer-parties he social life of the people. There are few chapters in which this peculiar custom he people is not referred to. These parties are mainly recreative: they are nt to dispel the monotony of life; and yet they are invested with a quasi-sacred racter. Beer is regarded as the food of the gods; and organised beer-drinking ies, in which any casual passer-by may join, seem to be formative of a mystical y between the participants. Not alcoholism, but a strong sense of fellowship common culture, is the outcome of this very strange custom.

This economic structure, unfortunately for the Lovedu, postulates territory much greater extent than is allowed them. The native pattern is faring badly er the impact of the missionary activities and the industrial enterprises of Euro-ns. The Kriges content themselves with a statement of the adverse effects of impact on tribal customs and tribal means of subsistence. They do not make effort to show how the resulting tensions should be resolved. Yet the history Europe is there to show how Christianity invaded pagan Europe and, taking all sound elements in existing customs, moulded out of them European Christian lisation. If nothing but suspicion, jealousy, and hostility are the results of all rts to adjust the civilisation of the white man to that of the native, it should ar to the anthropologist that there is something wrong in the economic ideals something imperfect in the Christian forms to which the Lovedu are invited to mmodate themselves.

In conclusion it must be said that it is hard to see any worth-while return for immense labour and study and observation of which *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* s proof. The ordinary reader wearies of the detailed accounts of the native gico-religious rites and ceremonies. These are for the most part absurdities. dies of this kind, published under the auspices of the International Institute African Languages and Cultures, would serve a useful purpose if they tried to lay the possibly intelligible basis underlying indigenous customs. It would ve of great interest to see traced the process through which this healthy foundation become overlaid by the absurdities begotten of the superstition, vice, and crafti-s of those who live by trading on the ignorance and fear of their more unsophisti-d tribesmen.

E. LEEN

SH CINEMA HANDBOOK. Dublin: Parkside Press. 1943. 3s. 6d.

Irish Cinema Handbook is a most interesting and courageous publication. In riety of articles it gives a comprehensive account of a scheme which, if carried effect, should have far-reaching results in this country. The many-sided plan ch is now proposed for implementation has for some years past been applied in r countries (with some differences in organisation). Irish initiators have, there-, the advantage of being in a position to profit by experience already gained. at is envisaged is a revolt against all that is worthless in the cinema and a retention elaboration of all that is of use. It is realised that films have great potentialities ducation and in our cultural life, and that we can no longer remain supine under commercial exploitation of cosmopolitan adventurers. The National Film itute of Ireland, recently established under distinguished patronage, has set its aims with a vision and an objectiveness which argue well for the success of undertaking. Its scope includes the use of films in the education of youth and ne adult, the use of films in national reconstruction, the education of the public lm appreciation by various well-adjudged methods, the establishment of a onal Film Library. The scheme also proposes to produce educational and ural films of distinctive national character and inspiration.

It is obvious that such wide plans must be costly, and the question of finance nce arises. In his excellent article, *The Film in National Life*, the Rev. Father ane, S.J., stresses the necessity of state-aid without state-control, and describes

what has already been done in other countries, great and small. What Denmark, Switzerland and South Africa have done, Ireland can surely do. One might go further and say, as Miss Brigid Redmond suggests, that Ireland's indifference on the subject of the cinema is all the more reprehensible when one considers the problem of the Irish language revival. Not only has the film been ignored as a means of language teaching, but the scheme for the restoration of the Irish language has never envisaged the necessity of competing with Hollywood for the leisure time of the people. So long as people must turn for their recreation to a language other than Irish, so long will the restoration of Irish be delayed. Can we hope for Irish films in a country which has never even provided a daily newspaper in Irish?

The National Film Institute of Ireland is without financial endowment and appeals to the general public for support. It deserves all possible encouragement, but it should not be left to private individuals to finance a scheme which is not merely educative and cultural, but which is in the highest degree essential if we are to save our country from being denationalised. France, Denmark, Switzerland, Britain, Germany, Japan, Czechoslovakia and other countries are already engaged in the task which Ireland now essays. In all these countries financial aid is provided by the government. In Czechoslovakia and in Germany projectors are provided in the schools free of charge. Huge sums have, in past years, been expended in Ireland to finance projects which were unintelligently conceived and which proved largely unproductive. Our Government has now an opportunity of proving that it can be far-sighted and generous in the sphere of education and of national culture. From the purely commercial point of view it should be remembered that (as Mr. J. M. Stanley points out) imported films mean the export of many millions of solid cash, leaving nothing behind but a memory.

On the subject of films as an educative force in various countries the *Handbook* provides some very illuminating facts. For example, by 1938, 20,000 projectors had been provided free of charge to the schools in Germany. In the United States, in 1936, only 10,097 projectors served 17,000,000 pupils. We are not surprised. Had the United States ever considered films as an educative means, had they ever really envisaged them as anything but money-spinners, they surely would not have deluged the world with such wretched fustian.

The Irish Cinema Handbook treats so many different aspects of the film and the cinema that it is not easy to give a representative account of its contents. There are articles on a proposed Irish film industry, a review of Irish films and documentaries made years ago, a consideration of the post-war period when it is hoped, with the aid of Irish actors and writers, to make films which will be nationally characteristic. There are articles on film censorship, on film distribution, on cinema accommodation (no mean subject this, when we remember that for so many of our poor the cinema and the Public Library Reading Room provide the only possibility of warmth and comfort). Finally, there is a list of all the Irish cinemas—a list so large that we cannot fail to view it with concern. We recall that the number of cinema tickets purchased last year in Ireland was twenty-two millions. There flashes before the mind's eye a picture of long queues, all over Ireland, standing patiently under the downpour of our Irish rain, waiting for the privilege of seeing the canned excrescences of Hollywood. God speed the day when, due to the wise measures of the National Film Institute, they will not wait in vain for true nourishment of mind and spirit.

B. G. MACCARTHY

GERMAN LITERATURE

GERMAN SONGS OF SEVEN CENTURIES. With Introduction and Glossary by Dr. H. Becker. Dublin: The Author. 1944. 3s. 6d.

GERMAN songs with staff notation have been published for use in schools in England—

not at such a popular price nor with such an introduction and with notes on rces and melody. I do not suppose that an experienced lover of German -songs can ever feel quite satisfied with a selection which has to be limited by sorts of considerations. Dr. Becker was naturally anxious to give as many of favourites of the youth movements as possible. That did not allow him space among others, such genuinely old and always new Christmas carols as *rientraum, Winterrose, In dulci jubilo, Puer natus in Bethlehem,* which are less kneyed than *Stille Nacht.* Many of the songs that he gives are revivals, in key h the mood of to-day. Some are interesting examples of the use to which a tune be put as it goes down through the ages on the lips of the people. " Innsbruck, muss dich lassen," supposed to have no less an author than Emperor Maximilian nself, had its melody, anyhow, composed by the Emperor's musician, the famous ak, who was also His Imperial Majesty's Trade Representative in Venice ! It s this same composer who on his return to the Reich trained Senfl, almost as nous as himself. The melody must have had magic in it, for it was used by Paul rhardt in the seventeenth century, for his beautiful " Nun ruhen alle Wälder," l it had been seized on by Lutheran pastors in the sixteenth century for texts h as : " O Welt, ich muss dich lassen." There is no doubt that the passion of German people for songs in their own tongue was exploited in the days of the formation.

A few of Dr. Becker's selections are classical examples of the folk spirit inspiring individual lyrist. Of such are Goethe's " Es war ein König in Thule " and, in a ferent order of inspiration and merit, Claudius's " Der Mond ist aufgegangen." me illustrate Dr. Becker's acceptance of the theory that an individual of any age so incorporate folk qualities that his songs are not only sung by the people t become, in process of assimilation by them, part of the nameless productions t form the corpus of the people's lyrics. Such a song, perhaps, is Geibel's " Der ai ist gekommen." Why does Dr. Becker give it such a heavy English title : " The avelling Journeyman's May Song." To be sure the German journeyman was " carrier " ; Heine, that incorrigible lover of folk-song, knew that ; he even isted that he was the maker of such music : " The words fall from Heaven on such a journeyman's lips ; he needs only to sing them and they are more full of etry then all the fine poetic phrases which we dig painfully out of the depths our hearts."

Other songs, such as Von Eichendorff's " In einem kühlen Grunde," are art rsions of such little folk poems as " Das Mühlrad." Yet others—those of Hermann ns—have been on the lips of the marching youth of Germany almost since Löns l in the last war. The Hitler youth books are full of Löns songs—a blend of nature rship, young love and military pride. Is Löns not the author of one of the war ngs in this collection " Die blauen Dragoner die reiten " on page 11 which Dr. cker indexes without the author's name ? Löns's " Heute wollen wir ein edlein singen," which is not included in Dr. Becker's collection, is well known all radio listeners with its refrain : " Denn wir fahren gegen Engeland."

I wish that Dr. Becker had not provided English titles for these German songs, ich after all are not presented in English. Neither are they indexed under the glish " made-up " headings, but very properly under their " First Lines." This screpancy between text and index makes the use of the index troublesome and nfusing. The titles themselves are awkward, unattractive, often even misleading in : *Dusk on the Heather ; Recourse to St. Michael ; Young Comrades ; Faith.*

Dr. Becker's Irish preface is heartening. He found a sympathetic audience for s songs in the cottages of Connemara ; he was himself in sympathy with Gaelic nging. Students of German remember how Herder was attracted first to folk-lture when working as a parson in Riga. It was the submerged and despised arts

of Latvia that opened his mind to the imperishable beauty of folk art. In the years immediately following the World War a Latvian woman, coming here to an international Women's Peace Congress, was kindled as by a flame by the late Arthur Darley's interpretation of Irish folk tunes. A rivalry of communication of songs and tunes was the result.

Why did Dr. Becker cut so drastically the song "Es steht ein Lind in jenem Tal," which crops up again and again in German literature and which is, in motif and partly in treatment, in Colm O'Loghlin's Anglo-Irish ballads? Many a time I listened to it being sung at fairs in County Cork. It is one of my earliest recollections of the strolling ballad-singer's art.

In conclusion, I wish Dr. Becker had had the courage to give his Introduction in Irish and an Irish glossary as well. His titles and index could have remained German. His book would then have had a more uniform appearance, and he would have put Gaels who are students of German under as deep a debt of gratitude to him as are the friends who encouraged him to produce this timely and useful book. Next time perhaps?

MARY M. MACKEN

THE OXFORD BOOK OF GERMAN PROSE. From Luther to Rilke. Chosen, edited and annotated by H. G. Fiedler. Professor Emeritus in the University of Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1943. 10s.

THIS is a companion volume to the same editor's *Book of German Verse.* The book is obviously intended for advanced students; both Notes and Introduction are in German. English intrudes only in the title. There is now and then a search for English interest in the selection of such passages as those describing a distinguished traveller's arrival in London, his first sight of the King, his visit to Garrick, his impressions of the English Parliament or of Oxford. Or there is a letter of Goethe to Carlyle. Apart from such matter, the editor seems to have a literary linking-aim, as when he uses a youthful letter of Mathias Claudius to give a contemporary picture of Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm" or when Beethoven or Heine or Bettina von Arnim give vivid personal impressions of Goethe. Other such linking passages are Mozart's letter followed by an excerpt from Mörike's well-known short story of Mozart's journey from Vienna to Prague or passages from the Faust folk book before we meet the great author of *Faust.* But despite the care that Dr. Fiedler has expended on this book of extracts, despite these interesting correspondences, I do not find in it any justification for a prose-anthology. Unless such a book keeps to the by-ways of literature, giving us aphorisms, letters or diaries, it is living art-matter torn from its context. Such fragments can give no idea of the masterpieces from which they are extracted. At best they might, differently arranged and annotated, serve as linguistic or stylistic specimens; they cannot give an adequate picture of the crowded four and a half centuries that they purport to represent.

MARY M. MACKEN

GOD AND THE WORLD

GOD INFINITE, THE WORLD, AND REASON. By William J. Brosnan, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press. 1943. $2.25.

THIS book forms the third and last part of Fr. Brosnan's course in Natural Theology in English. It is worthy of his high reputation. Explicitly and precisely, if a little diffusely, he expounds the authentic doctrine of Suarez on creation. The questions of God's foreknowledge of free acts, Providence in general, conservation, the divine cooperation with the actions of creatures, and the problem of evil comprise the chief heads of the work's contents. A feature of the work that renders it interesting reading is the abundance of apt quotations from modern non-Christian writers on theology. The concept of Dr. Shailer Mathews of God as the cosmic personality-producing

vity has a peculiarly American sound about it that almost seems to qualify such eing for participation in the New Deal. Many things are neatly expressed, as n Fr. Brosnan puts the challenge of the material universe to the understanding hat of " an order of the greatest stability founded on a maximum of instability." l every honest man will applaud Fr. Brosnan's candour, despite years of dis- guished teaching, in confessing that he has surrendered the view of the virtual insic distinction in God for that of a virtual distinction with an imperfect ndation in reality.

Here and there are details that may be questioned. All will want to agree with author's view that no series of causes can be infinite, but some will not find proof conclusive. His statement that Durandus is more famous for strangeness pinion than depth of knowledge, though true, points to a reputation unjust to t rash and " unbiddable " but profound genius. He admits only a distinction reason between the effect of creation and that of conservation. If that were so, n I should exist tomorrow by the mere fact of existing today and it would be taphysically impossible for me to die tonight. The distinction is surely between stence and its duration, similar to that between the parts of a continuum. But one defect that calls for protest is his complete silence on the doctrine of non- erministic premotion that many of his brethren teach, though they are as opposed ne is to physical predetermination. It seems to be through the doctrine of undeter- ned premotion that the best hope lies of settling the venerable controversy between Bannesians and the Molinists. For the Bannesians, while unable to meet the ical arguments of the Molinists, have not been sufficiently seriously challenged their own metaphysical contentions. Today therefore the proportion of adherents each side is nearly what it always was. If the rift can ever be healed, the recon- ation seems only possible for a school like the non-determinist Thomists, who critics of the metaphysics on both sides. But on balance Fr. Brosnan's work st be highly praised and welcomed. A.L.

CT AND FICTION IN MODERN SCIENCE. By Henry V. Gill, S.J., M.A., M.Sc. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1943. pp. vi x 194. 8s. 6d.

is book, as readers of Fr. Gill's many books and scientific papers will be prepared hear, makes very pleasant reading. The writer's easy competence grows on one one reads, and one finds oneself sharing more and more in his evident enjoyment his subject—or rather subjects, for many themes are treated. Some of these are ely scientific, though most have a bearing on the philosophical or theological stions suggested by modern discovery or theory.

The opening chapter arrests the attention at once. It deals with the mechanism invention, the mental processes leading to the discovery of new truth—new, t is, to the discoverer, and sometimes to the rest of the world also. St. Augustine, William Rowan-Hamilton and Henri Poincaré (probably the leading mathematician the opening twentieth century, and surely one of the great names in the history Mathematics) are cited as witnesses: Fr. Gill has quite a remarkable power making these great men answer his questions. One is left musing, perhaps over e's own past efforts to think out something for oneself.

Each of the fourteen chapters—they seem disconnected, each can be read by lf, and yet they leave at the end a notable sense of unity—has this effect of ducing an attitude of wonder and contemplation: how strange and how steriously great is this visible world of ours, and those other worlds which escape grasp of our senses by their incredible vastness or incredible smallness, but ich science has brought into our ken! Fr. Gill, himself a scientist of no mean nding, is in full sympathy with scientific thought; and this fact gives point and ight to his words when he criticises the philosophical errors into which some entists and many demi-scientists have fallen.

The chapter on the Constituents of Matter is a wonderfully clear and condensed introduction to modern micro-physics. From the chapter on the Origin of Life one learns, perhaps with surprise, how Darwin fell short of being as thorough an evolutionist as St. Augustine and St. Basil. Indeed, there will be few readers, I imagine, who will not find profit in every chapter. Candid inquirers will be attracted by the book's clearness and kindly common sense. Catholics will rejoice in its combination of freedom, scientific accuracy, and sound Christian doctrine. It is full of wise sayings. Sir James Jeans, for instance, who can see in the material universe evidence of God's mathematical ability but none of His mercy or goodness—as if one were to examine a motor-car for evidence of Mr. Henry Ford's kindness of heart—might take to heart Fr. Gill's advice to extend his studies to the observation of human nature and ask himself where his own ideas of mercy and goodness came from.

One of Canon Sheehan's priest-heroes delivered a lecture on Modern Science, ending with a peroration in which " he accepted every fact and rejected every theory of the scientists," after a preparation extending over six weeks and including the study of a number of periodicals and even some books. We have had perhaps too much of that sort of thing in the past, and it is a joy to read a work by a real master of his subject who is also a sound theologian. M. F. E.

PRAISE OF GLORY. By E. I. Watkin. London: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. 280. 10s. 6d.

THE fundamental truth that man was created to praise and glorify God is dramatised in the Liturgy, first in the Mass and then in the Divine Office. Mr. Watkin's book is an effort to enlist more actors in the latter portion of the divine drama and to enable them more worthily to fulfil their rôles. There can be no doubt that a knowledge and use of the Church's official prayer-book by the laity is most desirable. We may also admit that, in an ideal world, Lauds and Vespers would be " the portion of the Office which seems best for general daily use." But in a world over which the smoke of Luther's bonfire still hangs heavy, it would seem that Prime and Compline serve as the best introduction to the Divine Office. (In one, at least, of our Irish cathedrals Sunday Compline has been introduced and has proved quite popular.)

Further, until the Catholic laity is again thoroughly permeated with an understanding and love of the Mass, as the present Holy Father wishes it to be, efforts to popularise the Divine Office, however laudable in themselves, will meet with little success. First things first. That also is the opinion of the National Liturgical Week held last year in the United States. The summarised opinion of the congress on the question says: " It would be better to be very careful in the choosing of those of the laity who are to say the Divine Office." That does not mean that beginnings should not be made with select groups, as has already been done in many countries. Father La Farge, S.J., has told recently how he got such a group even to chant the Office, and " the experience had a tremendously uplifting effect on their spiritual lives."

For such groups Mr. Watkin's book, which is mainly a commentary on Lauds and Vespers, will be helpful. But still more helpful would have been a cheap edition of Lauds and Vespers with a much shorter commentary, something perhaps on the lines of Faulhaber's *Vespers for Sundays and Feastdays*, which the great Cardinal, amidst his many difficulties, has found time to edit and to publish for the laity of his diocese. Even a footnote on the existing English editions of the Breviary or of the Day Hours, giving their prices and publishers and comparative merits, would have been of much assistance. As the book stands, it will be of more use to priests. The comments on the Proper of the Season suffer from the catalogue manner. But those on the Psalms will be found inspiring and devotional.

D. O'S.

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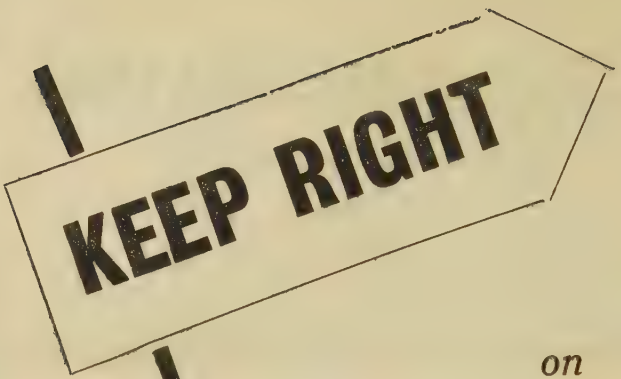

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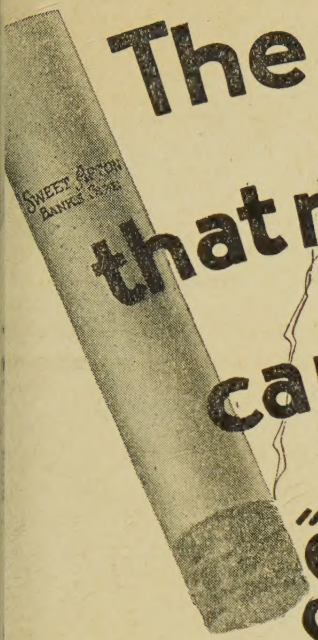

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